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REPORT

OF

A TOUR IN EASTERN RAJPUTANA

IN

1871-72 AND 1872-73.

BY

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UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

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VOLUME VI.

"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them."—Lord Canning.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally."—James Prinsep.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1838, p. 227.

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PREFACE.

In the cold season of 1871-72 Mr. Carlleyle started from Agra to make a tour in Rajputâna. He first visited several old sites in the Fatehpur Sikri range of hills to the west of Agra, where he discovered stone cairns and other early remains at Khera, and Satmâs and a curious aboriginal fort and tomb at Tontpur. He next visited Baiâna and the neighbouring hill fort of Vijayamandargarh, where he found an inscribed pillar dated in the Sâmvat year 428. This inscription, which is quite perfect, is of special value, as we have hitherto found but very few dated records of so early a period. Here also he discovered a curious minar of the time of Muhammad Sayid of Delhi. He then proceeded to the ancient town of Mâchâri, where he discovered another aboriginal tomb and some dated inscriptions. Here also he found an ancient temple of some interest. He next proceeded to Bairât, where he was fortunate enough to discover a rock inscription of Asoka. It is imperfect; but after some time I found that it was a third copy of the dated inscription of Asoka, of which two nearly perfect texts had been found at Rûpnâth and Sahasarâm. At Deosa Mr. Carlleyle discovered several monoliths. He next visited the old Mina fort of Nai or Nain, and the neighbouring city of Châtsu, at which place, as well as at Bâghera and Thoda, he discovered some curious stone circles of the aboriginal inhabitants. At Thoda he made plans and other drawings of two fine temples, and at Visalpur he found a dated inscription of Prithvi Raja in the temple of Visala Deva. He made drawings of this temple as well as of the cave temple of Gokarna.

Mr. Carlleyle remained in camp during the whole of the hot weather and rains of 1872, when he was engaged in exploring all the ancient sites in the neighbourhood of Chitor. One of these, which he discovered 12 miles to the north-east of Chitor, is of special interest, as it is undoubtedly one of the oldest cities in Northern India. It is now called Karkot Nâgar, or simply Nâgar. Here he obtained some coins with an inscription in Asoka characters, which I read as—

Majhimikâya-Ṣibi-janapadasa.

"[Coin] of the Majhimikâyas of the country of Ṣibi."

Accepting this reading as correct, the city of Nâgar may be looked upon as the old capital of the district of Ṣibi.

After visiting several minor places, Mr. Carlleyle reached another old city called Tambavati Nâgari, or simply Nâgari. It lies 30 miles nearly due north from Bûndi, and 12 miles to the west of Uniâra. In the maps it is named simply *Nagger*. At this place Mr. Carlleyle obtained upwards of five thousand copper coins, nearly the whole of which bear the name of *Mâlavân*, which I take to refer to the Mâlavâns of the Hindu Purâns. As this name occurs in characters of all ages from the time of Asoka 250 B. C. down to about 500 or 600 A. D., I conclude that the city must have flourished through the whole of this long period. Mr. Carlleyle also visited Bijoli, where he made plans of the temples. After examining some other minor places he returned to Agra early in 1873, having spent the greater part of the two cold seasons of 1871-72 and 1872-73, besides the whole of the intervening hot season and rains of 1872, in this prolonged tour through Rajputâna. His report, illustrated by 24 plates, forms the subject of the present volume.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT.

REPORT OF OPERATIONS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR THE SEASONS 1871-72-73.

THE MOUNTAIN RANGES OF RÂJPÛTÂNA.

THE PATHAR, KARKOTA, AND ARAVALLI RANGES.

Before describing the antiquities of Râjpûtâna, it will be useful to say a few words regarding the mountains of Jaypur and Mewar, and more particularly of that great range or chain of hills of which the *Pathar* constitutes the southern continuation or extension, and in the very midst of the southern expansion of which Bijoli is situated in an elevated valley. For the position and nature of this great range are intimately connected not only with the geographical position of, and physical characteristics which surround, Bijoli, but the position of this hill range and of other neighbouring chains of hills which belong to the same mountain system is also intimately connected with the nature of the geographical position and physical characteristics of numerous other ancient places or localities which I visited in Râjpûtâna.

The Pathar range may be identified with the Pâripâtrâ mountains mentioned in the *Vishnu Purâna.*

The great hill range, of which the Pathar forms only a part, is one of the most continuous and unbroken, and also one of the longest, of hill ranges or mountain systems in India.[1] In some places—as, for instance, for a long distance to the north of Bûndi—it forms an unbroken and impenetrable wall, without even a valley by which it can be crossed. In other places, as at Bûndi and Indergarh, and near Nayâshahr and Ranthambhawar, tortuous valleys or passes run through the range. This range extends the whole way from Mainâl in the south, where it overhangs the plains of Mâlwa, to the junction of the Banâs River with the Chambal on the north, near Khizrpûr and Utgir. But the River Banâs merely runs

[1] See the accompanying map, Plate I.

through a break in the range to its junction with the Chambal; for this great range commences again and continues onwards still further northwards towards Malârna, Khushâlgarh (or Kosâlgarh), and Karauli; and the high hills near Hindaun and Dholpûr are also simply detached continuations or spurs and offshoots of the same range. This great range has therefore a total extent of about 200 miles from south-west to north-east, and yet would it be believed that, in maps generally, this great range is never laid down correctly; and that in some maps it is not even marked or laid down at all, or if it is ever marked in a map, it is generally confounded or apparently mixed up with another and totally different range,—namely, the Karkota range, which runs exactly parallel to it, but at the distance of about 20 miles further west? The great hill range, which may be called the Ranthambhawar, Indergarh, Búndi, and Pathar chain, runs about straight from south-west to north-east. I travelled along nearly the whole extent of it, both southwards and northwards, and I also crossed the range twice over and at two different points, so that I know it well. I may therefore say that I have seen and observed every part of this range throughout its whole extent. In travelling from the ancient city of Nâgar, near Uniyâra, southwards, on my route towards Chitor, I found that the native people of the locality everywhere called this hill range *Araballa*,[1]—that is, the Aravalli range; and I found that they applied this name in particular to that part of the range which lies between Narâyanpûr (south of Bûndi), Bûndi, and Indergarh; or from Narâyanpûr in the south to Indergarh in the north. As this, therefore, is a continuous range like a wall, while what is commonly called the Aravalli range, which lies further to the west on the borders of the desert, is simply an irregular succession of detached crests and isolated peaks, this range from Narâyanpûr and Bûndi to Indergarh and Ranthambhawar must therefore be the true Aravalli range. It is only at its southern extremity where it sends out a branch towards the south-east and east in the direction of Bijoli, Mainâl, Ratangarh, Dèbi, Sèntra, and Bhainsrôr, that it is called the Pathar, because there it takes the form of a huge, wide, rolling table-land, which is only precipitous on one side. The Pathar portion of the range is still pretty high and steep or

[1] The *Bhîl âgwas*, or guides, about Nârayanpûr, and to the south of it called this range the Araballa.

Tod also speaks of *Bijolli* (Bijoli) in the *Aravalli!* (*Rajasthân*, I, 45.)

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precipitous on its outer or western and southern sides, and it is steep and precipitous opposite to Chitor; while at Mainâl the scenery is said to be very wild and grand; but on the northern side of this eastern extension of the range, which is especially called the Pathar, it slopes down, with a long and gradually inclined descent, northwards towards Thaléra and Haroli and Kota, or, in other words, in the direction of the flat plain country which lies between Kota and Bûndi, and it thus forms an interior elevated sloping plateau. But the whole way from Bûndi northwards to Indergarh and Ranthambhawar, the range is very lofty and precipitous, both on its western and eastern sides, although the western face is probably the higher of the two; and at Indergarh and Ranthambhawar the range rises into very lofty and precipitous peaks, and one here meets with genuine mountains. Towards the south, in that part which is called the Pathar, the range is entirely composed of a sort of hard gritty transition sandstone; but in the higher crests towards the north, one meets with genuine transition rock; and in the central and highest portion of the range, a kind of granitic or gneissite or porphyritic rock appears to crop up.

The real fact of the matter is this, that the great range which runs from Ranthambhawar to Bûndi and Chitor, and the other parallel Karkota range which runs from near the east of Tonk in the north to the junction of the Birach and the Banâs Rivers, towards Jahâzpur and Bhilwâra in the south, are connected with each other by lower cross ranges or detached hills,—as, for instance, at Balwantgarh to the north, at Narayânpûr to the south of Dublana, in the centre, and also by detached hills and rocky ridges and elevations further south, in the direction of Chitor. These lower cross or transverse connecting heights are mostly composed of slate (or schist-like slate) and quartz.[1] The Karkota range, again, is connected at its southern end with what is commonly called by us the Aravalli range proper, which runs down through Mewar to Mount Abu. But, in reality, the three great ranges—the Bûndi and Indergarh range, the Karkota range, and the Mewar hills—together form one great mountain system which generally, as a whole, may be called the Aravalli. Another great branch of the Aravalli mountain system, however, runs

[1] It is probably from these transverse ridges of black slate rock, about from 15 to 20 miles to the north of Chitor, that the famous colossal black stone elephants were constructed which were exhumed at Delhi, and which are composed of blocks of black slate.

northwards from near or to the west of Hamirgarh, Bhilwâra, and Sanganer,[1] until it meets the Ajmer range. It also sends off two branches eastwards and north-eastwards, one of which runs to near Deoli, and ends close to the south of it; and the other runs past Malpura and Degi and to the west of Lava, and this latter range then runs thence northwards, until it joins the hills near Amber and Nain. Midway between this outer range and the central Karkota range, there is also another isolated range which runs from the north of Deoli to Thoda, with Visalpûr situated at the centre of it.

There is still another and sixth range, which runs from the north of the Banâs River, some distance away to the east of Châtsû, past Lalsout, to Mora and Gisgarh, and eventually jôins on to the great granitic range which runs eastwards from Bhusâwar and Ritâwar by Wair to Baiâna.

Other distinct ranges of hills—as, for instance, those at Mâchâri and Bairât—are noticed separately in my reports on those places. The exceedingly lofty group of hills, or rather mountains, which includes Uncha Pahâr and some very lofty-peaked mountains to the north-east of it, will also be noticed separately in my account of Uncha Pahâr.

I have thus, from personal observation on the spot, been enabled to give a clear and accurate description of nearly the whole of the mountain systems of Râjpûtâna, which do not seem to be generally known, and which are very seldom marked in common maps, or if marked at all, they are generally very incorrectly laid down, as if at random.

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[1] I should here note that there are two places called Sanganer: one in the north near Jaypûr; and one in the south near Bhilwâra, on the Ajmer and Nimach road. It is the latter place, to the south, to which I here refer.

2—ACHÈVA, ACHNÈRA, OR ACHNÈR.

ACHNÈR is a small town situted about 16 miles to the west of Agra, on the Agra and Bharatpûr road, and almost on the boundary which divides the Bharatpûr State from the British possessions. It possesses a small fort, apparently of middle age, built of stone, which is now considerably dismantled, and is inhabited by Thâkûrs, or men of Râjpût caste and their families.

Achnèr, according to some accounts, is reputed to have been founded by and named after Achal Raja, one of the sons of Anang Pâl, the Tomar King of Dehli, who commenced his reign in A. D. 1051. In this case, Achnèr must have been founded in the latter part of the eleventh century. I, however, am a little inclined to question the derivation of the name of Achnèr from that of Achal.

In Achnèr we have one example in point of numerous places scattered throughout Râjpûtâna the names of which terminate with the syllable *nèr*. The name of Achnèr is compounded of two distinct words or syllables,—namely, *Ach*, *Achh*, or *Achha*, which may either represent the name of some person, or else may be some qualifying term; and *nèr*, a particle which no native I ever met with, even in Râjpûtâna, has been able either to interpret the meaning or to explain the origin of. And even learned Europeans who are Sanskrit and Hindi scholars do not seem to be agreed as to its exact signification.

This, therefore, raises the question as to "*what* is the origin and signification of this particle *nèr* as attached to the names of places?" I myself was inclined to consider it to be equivalent in meaning to, but not derived from, the Hindi term *âr*, which signifies a shelter, a screen, or a protection. But the terminal particle in question is *nèr*, and not *èr*, as may be proved from well-known names of places, such as "Bhat-nèr," "Ach-nèr," "Jag-nèr," "Job-nèr," "Bika-nèr," "Champa-nèr," "Sanga-nèr," "Bal-nèr," "Banra-nèr," &c. It cannot, therefore, be in any way derivable from the Hindi word *ar;* nor is there any similar word in Sanskrit that could be applied equally to so many places, all differing the one from the other in the nature of their situation and surrounding features. Apparently (but only apparently) the only conclusion, therefore, that one could arrive at would be, that it

is some obsolete word derived either from one of the Indo-Turanian dialects, now mostly confined to Southern and North-Eastern India, or from the language of some of the aboriginal tribes of Central or Western India; or else from the now forgotten language of a colony of some of those northern tribes, such as the Indo-Scythians, Turushkas, or the fire-worshipping Indo-Sassanians, who severally and successively invaded India in olden times.

There is, however, a word which properly belongs to what is called the *Dakhini* dialect, but which also sometimes occurs in use in some of the local mixed dialects of the Hindui in Central India. This word is *nèṛe,* which signifies in the shelter of, under the protection or charge of, with, beside, or near to. And this word is nearly connected with the Hindi verb *neṛnā,* which signifies to care for, to look after, or to take charge of.[1] There is, however, a genuine Hindi word, *nère,* nearly allied to the above, which means beside, near to, or in the possession of. "*Hamáré nère*"—with me, or in my possession—is a common expression among the *gânwárs,* or villagers, of the upper provinces of India. All these words appear to bear a close analogy to the Sanskrit *nèdin,* or the Prakrit *nèrau,* which signify near at hand, near unto, contiguous to, beside.

From all the above, I think it may be deduced that the terminal particle *nèr,* which is suffixed to the names of so many places throughout Râjpûtâna, is derived from some obsolete or now disused word in one of the dialects of the Hindi. In accordance with this derivation, therefore, the signification of this suffix or particle must be that of possession or attachment. Thus, *Bika-nèr* would signify the place in possession of or belonging to Bika, who founded Bikanèr, and who was the son of Rao Joda, of the Marwar line, who founded Jodhpûr; *Jag-nèr* would signify the place alloted to the *Jags; Champa-nèr* would signify the place belonging to Champa; *Bhat-nèr* would signify the possession of the Bhattis; *Joban-nèr,* or *Job-nèr,* would signify the place belonging to *Joban,* or the youth; *Sanga-nèr* would signify the place belonging to an assembly, or association, or community, or to a person called *Sanga;* and

[1] This Hindi verb *nernâ* bears a wonderfully close resemblance, in sound and orthography, and even in meaning, to the German verb *nähren,* to nourish; and to the Anglo-Saxon root *ner* of *nerëan,* to nourish, the preterite of which is *nerëde.* The English word *near,* and its derivative *nearness,* also show some kind of apparent connection with the Hindi term *nère.*

lastly, *Achha-nèr* or *Achh-nèr*, might signify the good possession, or the pleasant vicinity, or the good neighbourhood. But if the name of this place be derived from that of Achal, the son of Anang Pâl, it would signify the place belonging to, or allotted to, Achal. In that case, however, I think it would have been called *Achalnèr;* at least I cannot understand how the terminal syllable *al* of the name of *Achal* could be lost; for *Achal* (a word derived from the Sanskrit) signifies immoveable, and therefore the initial syllable *Ach* would have no sense alone, unless it be a corruption or contraction of *achha*, or *achcha*, good, excellent, or pleasant.

The other name of this place, *Achèva*, might be derived from the Sanskrit *achchha*, good, pleasant, excellent; and *èvaṅ*, thus, so,—whence *achh-èvaṅ*, which would signify thus so pleasant, or so pleasant a place: which would agree with the interpretation which I have suggested for the other name of *Ach-nèr*.

Tod, in his *Travels in Western India*, page 153, mentions *Anhulnyr* (*Analnèr?*) as another name of *Anhulpur* (*Analpûr?*) in Gujarat, and he there says that the terminal syllable *nyr* (*nèr*) "is the Prakrit for Nagara, a fortified city." I think this statement is very doubtful.

There are, however, other names of places in Râjpûtâna, such as *Ajmèr*, *Komulmèr*, *Jesalmèr*, and *Kumbhomèr*, &c., which have the terminal syllable changed into *mèr*, an *m* taking place of the *n*. If this difference might be simply owing to some phonetic law, which, in certain local dialects, necessitated that the letter *n* should be replaced by the more readily pronounced *m* when following certain consonants, then the two terminals *nèr* and *mèr* might be considered to bear the same signification. It is, for instance, perhaps more easy to say *Jesalmèr* than *Jesalnèr*. Now, Jesalmèr was founded by Rao Jesal, or Jesal Râwal, a raja of the Bhatti tribe, about A. D. 1155, and therefore, in this case, the original orthography of the name might have been *Jesal-nèr*, which, according to my theory, would signify the possession of Jesal. But Tod, in his *Annals of Rajasthân*, Volume II, p. 216, gives us the following information concerning the origin of the name of Jesalmèr. He says—"Jessulmèr is the modern name of a tract of country comprehended, according to ancient geography, in *Maroost'hali*, the desert of India. It is termed *mèr*, in the traditional nomenclature of this region, from being a rocky (*mèr*) oasis in the heart of the sandy desert." I do not

altogether pin my faith to Tod's etymology, but merely give it for what it is worth as the traditional one.

Ajmèr is commonly reputed to have been founded by Ajay-pâl, the traditional great ancestor of the Chahuman or Chohan tribe; and some have interpreted the name of the place as signifying "the mount" or "hill of Ajay-pâl," while others have translated it as "the hill of the goat," from *aja*, in Sanskrit, a goat; and *meru*, the name of a mythical mountain (in reality the pole of the earth). But *meru* does not mean any mountain in general, but properly only the one mythical mountain in particular; and therefore the term could not well be appropriated to the hill of Ajmèr. But *meṅd*, in Hindi (pronounced *meñr*), signifies a ridge, or ledge, or parapet,[1] and *mairá* means a platform or scaffold. Thus, *Aja-meṅd* would signify the ridge or ledge of the goat, and *Aja-máir* might mean the platform or table-land of the goat. *Aja-meṛh* would signify the goat-ram, or goat and ram. Lastly, *Aja-mîri* would signify the cream of the she-goat, from *aja*, a she-goat; and *mîri*, cream, in Sanskrit.

The name of Ajmèr might also otherwise have been derived from that of the *Meṛs*, or *Maiṛs*, or *Meḍs*, the original inhabitants of Ajmèr, the south of Marwar, and the north of Mewar, who, I think, must be considered as a distinct people from the *Mogs* or *Magras* of the Aravallis. But, in that case, what the prefix *Aj* or *Aja* may mean it is hard to say. *Aja* in Hindi means a grandfather. *Ajaya* in Sanskrit signifies either not victorious, without victory, or unconquered. These so-called *Mèṛs*, the aboriginal inhabitants of the territory called Ajmèr, would seem at one time to have been both a powerful and a warlike people. Elphinstone, in his *History of India*, page 312, mentions a victory gained by the natives near Ajmèr over the Muhammadan Kutb-u-dín, about A. D. 1195, in which the *Mèṛs* took a very prominent part indeed. His remarks are as follows:—

"Gwalior held out for a long time; and when it was taken, Kutb-u-dín (who was still governor in India) was obliged to march again to Ajmér. The rája set up by the Mussulmans had been a second time disturbed by his rivals and protected by Kutb-u-dín, and he was now exposed to a formidable attack from the rájas of Guzerát and Nagor, supported by the Mèrs, a numerous hill tribe near Ajmèr. Kutb-u-dín was overpowered on this occasion, and had difficulty in making his way, covered with wounds, to Ajmèr, where he remained shut up within the walls."

[1] In the Gaelic language *imire* means a ridge of land; and *muinn* means a back, or top, or ridge.

I, however, am inclined to think that the Hindi word *mend*, or *meñr*, signifying a ridge, is the actual original etymon of the terminal *mèr* suffixed to the names of certain places, as distinct from those terminating with *nèr*. General Cunningham, in his report on Amber, remarks that names terminating with *nér* and *mèr* are applied to places, many, or at least some, of which are *not* situated on hills, or which have no hills near them. But I think that in this case he should have confined this definition to names terminating with *nèr* alone, and not to those terminating with *mèr*. It is certainly true that many places the names of which terminate with *nèr* are very variously situated, and often have no hills near them. But I think that the case is entirely different with places the names of which terminate with *mèr*, for I believe that almost all the places, the names of which have this particular termination, are situated either on or near hills. Tod speaks of Jesalmèr as being commonly called simply *Mèr*,—that is, the *mèr*, or rocky ridge, which, as he says, forms a sort of "rocky oasis in the heart of the desert."

Now, this term *mèr*, as signifying a ridge, is peculiarly applicable to many places in Râjpûtâna, more especially in the desert, where isolated rocky ridges, meriting the name of hills, rise abruptly and conspicuously out of the plain. To these the term of ridge or crest is peculiarly applicable; and such elevated rocky ridges or heights have evidently been taken advantage of for the location of settlements or small fortified towns.[1]

In the case of Ajmèr, General Cunningham objects that the city is situated on the plain, and that "Ajmer is also called *Ajidurg* for *durg* means 'fort,' and not a hill, although it must be admitted that it is usually applied to a 'hill fort.' But the fort of *Ajaymer*, or *Ajmer*, is called *Tarâgarh* and *Bitali-ki-kot*, and the name of Ajmer is restricted to the town." Now, although General Cunningham may be correct in saying that the name of Ajmer is *now* restricted to the town, there can be very little doubt that the original settlement, as has been almost invariably the rule in such cases, must have been madeand situated on the hill for the sake of protection and defence; and, moreover, both Târâgarh and Bitali-ki-kot are, comparatively speaking, modern or recent

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[1] I consider this Hindi term *mèr* to be, in many cases, almost equivalent to the Scottish word *law*, which signifies an isolated ridge or conical hill. In the Gaëlic or Celtic, *munin* and *imire* both signify a ridge, and closely resemble the Hindi *mend* and *mèr*.

names for the fort alone, and are, at any rate, not names of the hill while the hill itself was probably originally called simply *Mèr*, or the ridge to which it afterwards had the distinctive term *Aja* or *Ajay* prefixed.

I do not think it is at all necessary, in all cases, that a town which has the terminal *mèr* suffixed to its name should be situated absolutely on the top of a hill; but I think it is quite sufficient that it should be situated near or close to a conspicuous ridge or hill. Towns are seldom situated *on* hills, unless in the case of some hill which has a large table-land at top, as at Chitor, and Vijaymandar Garh near Baiâna, but then, in that case, a hill of this kind is not a *mèr*, or ridge, but a *pahar*, or *parbat*, or *dûngar*. But if the present town of a place, the name of which terminates with *mèr*, be not situated on but only near a hill, the fort belonging to or protecting the town *is*, and the original and first ancient settlement most decidedly *was*, situated on the hill.

The fact is that the Hindi term *mèr* no doubt originally bore a larger and wider or more general signification than it does at present, and was variously applied or had various significations according to the nature of the locality *in* which it was applied, or the object *to* which it was applied. Thus, it no doubt originally signified any ridge-like or crest-like eminence; but in the flat region near the Jamna, where there are no hills but a great deal of cultivation, and consequently numbers of fields with mud banks round them, and ridges in them for conducting the water from the wells, the words *mèr*, *mend*, came to be entirely applied to the mud banks and ridges in the fields, which were the only kind of *mèr* that the inhabitants of the flat country were acquainted with. But in the desert parts of Râjputâna, on the contrary, where there was little cultivation, but many rocky ridges rising out of the desert plain, the inhabitants of that part of the country would very naturally apply the general term of *mèr* to any conspicuous or remarkable rocky ridge, and when that ridge came to be occupied as a place of safety, it would then be named after the chief of the occupants, or the leader of the party who formed the settlement, or after some peculiarity or association connected with the hill; and thus we might have *Aja-mèr*, the ridge of the goat; *Ajay-mèr*, the ridge of Ajay Pâl; *Jesal-mèr*, the ridge of Jesal; *Komal-mèr*, the ridge of *Komal*, or the placid; and *Kumbho-mèr*, the ridge of Kumbho.

I also think it is very probable that the name of the

Meḍs, or *Mèrs*, or *Mairs*, the ancient inhabitants of Ajmèr, the south of Marwar, and the north of Mewar, may originally have denoted "ridge-men," or dwellers on these rocky ridges in the desert. For I myself believe them to be a distinct people from the *Megs*, or *Mogs*, or *Mags*, or, more properly classically speaking, *Magras* of the Aravallis.[1]

Again, General Cunningham remarks that "*Kumbhomer* in Râjpûtâna is a hill fortress, but *Kumbhomer*, or *Kumbher*, near Bharatpûr, is simply a mud fort built on the open plain." I do not know what authority he had for supposing that *Kumbhomer* was also the former or original name of *Kumbher*, near Bharatpûr; but even supposing this to be the case, I believe that, in this particular instance, the terminal syllable *èr* is derived from the Hindi *ar*, which signifies a screen, or protection, or shelter; and that, therefore, *Kumbher* may originally have signified either the protected place or shelter of a person called *Kumbho*, or else a screen or enclosure for water-pots,—that is, for sacred water vessels. See, however, the following notice of the Kumbher, near Bharatpûr, from Captain Walter's Gazetteer. He says—"Half way the road goes through the ancient town of Koombher, once a strong place of the old Thakoors, and still containing a fortified palace *on a slight eminence*." (The italics are mine.) Thus, it appears that Kumbher is, after all, situated on a "slight eminence," which would be quite sufficient to merit the name of a *mèr* in a generally flat country,—that is, supposing that the original name of the place was *Kumbhomer*, as General Cunningham says; but Captain Walter mentions it only as *Koombher*.

On the other hand, General Cunningham's derivation of *Ambarikhanèra*, the ancient name of *Amber*, from Ambarika, a son of Mândhâta, most fully and remarkably bears out my

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[1] General Cunningham, however, I believe, considers the *Mèrs*, and the *Megs*, or *Mogs*, or *Magras*, to be one and the same people; and that the name of *Mèr*, or *Mair*, is an incorrect term invented by ourselves. Against this opinion I have the following facts, ascertained on the spot, to bring forward:—

The *Mairs* in the neighbourhood of the Banâs River are called *Mèr* by the country people who live in immediate proximity to them, and they appear to call themselves either *Meḍ* or *Mèr* (मेड़), while the *Magras* of the Aravallis are called *Mag*, or *Megs*, or *Mug*, by the people of that region, who pronounce the name exactly like the English word *mug*, But, strange to say, the very same term is also applied, in that part of the country, to the *Kanjar nats*, who go about like gypsies and live in little temporary huts made of *sirki*, and are great thieves; and it therefore becomes a question whether these wandering gypsy *Mags* are the same people as the settled *Mags* of the Aravallis.

Moreover, there is a difference in physical appearance between the *Mèrs* near the Banâs River and the *Mags* of the hill jungles; for the *Mèrs* somewhat resemble the *Minas* in general appearance, while the *Mags* more resemble the *Bhils*.

derivation of the other terminal *nèr* (as distinct from *mèṛ*) from the Hindi *nère*, signifying "in the possession of"; and consequently there can be no doubt that *Ambarikhanèra* originally signified "the place in possession of Ambarikha."

The result, therefore, of my investigations on this subject is that the names of all places terminating with the syllable *nèr* invariably signify a place allotted to, or belonging to, or in the possession of, some one,—generally the scion of some ruling family, who, as a minor, originally received his allotted portion or share of the inheritance in land separate from the main and principal possession, which belonged to the eldest son and heir, who became the paramount raja; while, on the other hand, the names of all places terminating with *mèṛ* signify a place situated *on* or *near a* ridge or elevation.

[NOTE.—Mr. Carlleyle has omitted the two most striking examples which I adduced as evidence that *ner* did not mean a hill fort,—namely, the great fortress of *Bhatner*, which was besieged by Timur, and the town of *Sanganer*, near Jaypur. Both of these places are situated in an open plain. The Magras of the Aravalli range I take to be the Megallæ of Pliny.—A. C.]

3—KHÈRA.

KHÈRA is a village on the face of a hill about four miles to the west of Fatehpur Sikri. It is situated in an elevated position, on the south-western side of one of the last of what may be called the Fatehpur range of hills, which run westwards for about 5 miles from the latter place.

There is little to say about the village itself, except that it has the appearance of being of some extent, and covers a considerable portion of the face of a shoulder of the hill looking towards the south-west. But the village is really not so extensive as it looks, for it includes a considerable number of ruined houses, which latter are of course tenantless. There are also other fragments of ruined walls here and there, mostly on the outskirts of the village, and especially towards the east. Some of the latter ruins look old, and several large hewn stones, and some stone beams or posts, are lying about the eastern side of the village, on the slope of the hill; and as the very name of the place, *Khèra*, is a term which is mostly applied to ancient sites (though not invariably so), I think it very possible that the place may once have been the site of an ancient town of larger size.

In this neighbourhood, to the west and south of Khèra, one begins to meet with a few Minas—a race of men whom one afterwards finds more plentifully distributed throughout Râjpûtâna, especially in the region which lies between the Bânganga and the Banâs Rivers, and thence westwards to Jaypur. But, in fact, Minas may be found, more or less, all the way from Hindôn to Jaypur, and from Baiâna to Chitor; though in the extensive territory of the Jaypur State they are perhaps more numerous than elsewhere.

That which has brought forth this notice of Khèra, however, was the discovery of some sepulchral *cairns* on the ridge of a hill at a little distance to the north-east from the latter place.

According to a custom which I pursued, whenever practicable, throughout the greater part of my tour, of ascending any likely-looking hills in the vicinity of places where I rested or halted, I ascended the bare, brown-looking, stony ridge of hills to the north-east of Khera just after sunrise. On reaching the summit of the ridge, and after walking for some distance along it, I began to meet with a few heaps of stones here and there, which, from their inconsiderable

dimensions and irregular depressed shape, and (if one may so term it) dilapidated condition, I did not at first take much notice of; but presently, a little further off, I found a few genuine cairns of more regular shape and larger dimensions; and it at once occurred to me that they might be ancient, and would at least be worth examining.[1]

Two or three of the cairns were as much as 10 feet in transverse diameter, while some of the others did not measure more than 3 or 4 feet across; and, again, here and there, a cairn of some height occurred, while other heaps scattered about were low and depressed. I counted about seven noteworthy cairns scattered along the Khèra hill range, besides the remains or traces of others. But these cairns are evidently fast disappearing, for the herdsmen and boys, who wander over the sides of the hills tending cattle and goats, appear to rob the old cairns of their stones, in order to construct low square platforms, or seats, or *chabutras*, to sit on, or lie on, while lazily watching their cattle and goats. In this manner, numbers of old cairns in Râjpûtâna are robbed of their stones and pulled to pieces, and eventually totally effaced; and one is almost sure to find a herdsman's flat platform of stones where there are cairns, if there happens to be any village at all near at hand.

The larger of these cairns consisted of two kinds,—namely, round-topped or tumulus-shaped cairns, composed entirely of small boulders and rubble stones, or fragments of the rock of the hill; and two or three flat-topped cairns, which were of an irregular roughly four-sided shape, with generally sloping sides, and surmounted at top either by slabs of stone or by the remains or fragment of slabs. On one of the latter there was a single irregular-shaped slab of stone covering only about one-third of the top, and not quite reaching to the edges, while on another there were two rough slabs of stone meeting in the middle, and of which I have given a restored drawing as I supposed the cairn originally to have been when it was perfect.[2] On a third irregularly-shaped flat-topped cairn there were the fragmentary and much weather-worn remains of three slabs of stone, which had originally covered the top.

Below, or underneath, the centre of the base of two of the round-topped cairns which I examined, I found a shallow, oblong, or trough-shaped cavity, which may either have been

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[1] See Plate II for sketches of some of these cairns.

[2] See Plate II.]

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roughly excavated in the solid rock of the hill, or it may have been a small natural depressed cavity taken advantage of by the builders of the cairn. On clearing out the stones, I found that the cavity contained a layer of pale-coloured earth, or in some cases a fine yellowish sand, foreign to the locality, and which must have been brought from somewhere else and placed in the cavity on purpose. Beneath this layer of peculiar earth I found what appeared to me to be the grey dust of the ashes of calcined bones mixed with earth, and a few small fragments of charred wood.

One of the flat-topped cairns contained a small square hollow or chamber at its bottom but, in this case, just above or on the level of the ground or natural rock, and in the body of the cairn. The upper part of this hollow was partly filled up by small stones, and at the bottom of it I could find nothing except a little grey dust mixed with grit, the former of which substances may possibly have been bone ash, and a very few small atoms of charcoal or charred wood.

There is another range of bare brown hills, of somewhat greater elevation, which lies at the distance of a few miles to the north of the Khèra and Fatehpur Sikri range. On two of these more distant hills I could see that there were ruins which, from the apparent size of the stones as seen at that distance, I should be inclined to call cyclopean; and I thought I could also distinguish cairns on some of the hills. These hills ought also to be examined.

I was then without my camp, and had to pursue my way on to Rûp-bâs during the day, after a night's previous journey, so that I had not time then to visit these more distant hills.

4.—RÛP-BÂS, OR RÛP-VAS.

RÛP-BÂS is situated as it were in the hollow centre of a broken undulating plain, with ranges of hills appearing along its horizon towards the south and south-west, and near the right or south bank of the Bânganga River, at the distance of about 32 miles to the south-west half west-south-west from Agra, and about 10 miles to the south-west from Fatehpur Sikri. It now belongs to the Bharatpûr State.

The present town of Rûp-bâs is not ancient, but probably of middle age. The only apparently ancient feature about it is a very large conical or dome-shaped mound, situated on the southern side of the town, near the east side of a large tank, which has been hewn out of the sandstone rock which there underlies the soil at no great depth. This mound may possibly be of ancient origin, and I would be inclined to attribute it to the work of the aborigines, if it were not that it is almost sufficiently near the tank to make it just possible that it *may* have been composed of the earth forming a shallow stratum of soil above the rock, which must have been thrown out before excavating the rock for the formation of the tank. The people of the place seemed to consider it simply as a *jhâr-ka-tila*, as if it were composed of *jhâran*, or accumulated dust, or refuse earth, or sweepings, or huge dust-heap, in fact; but as nearly the same kind of term is applied by the ignorant common people to sepulchral mounds of very ancient origin in other parts of the country, the likelihood still remains that the Rûp-bâs mound may possibly be of equally ancient origin.

To the east of the town there are the remains of a mud fort which is said to have been constructed by the Mahrattas. There are numerous sandstone quarries a short distance to the east and south from the town. The real antiquities of Rûp-bâs, however, are to be found in two somewhat elevated localities, at a short distance from the present town. The most remarkable of these are situated at an ancient deserted site, on a rocky knoll or eminence which rises with a long gradual ascent, terminating in a steep scarp, about a mile and a quarter, or a mile and a third, to the south-west from the present town of Rûp-bâs.

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[1] The actual distance is 5,307 feet.

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On the sloping even ground in front of and just before reaching this little hill, and to the north-west side of it, there are numerous small standing stones, or stones standing erect in the ground, on two different spots, some of which appeared to me as if they had once formed portions of stone circles; and there were also certain solitary erect slabs of stone, of which the width across horizontally was generally equal to and sometimes a little greater than their vertical height above ground, and which latter stones I thought might possibly originally have formed the side stones of *cromlechs.* The dimensions of the largest of the latter were—

Height, 2 feet 7 inches *above the ground;* so that the total height of the stone must have been over 3 feet.

Breadth or width, 2 feet 7 inches.

Thickness, 8 inches.

The summit or crest of the hill above referred to, which has here a somewhat steep scarp, is thickly covered with the ruins of closely-packed houses, which appear to have been mostly constructed of loose stones without mortar. This is called the *Purâni Gâm*, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that this was the site of the ancient town of Rûpbâs. And as I noticed certain traces which led me to believe that the ruins of the old town must once have extended over a greater area than they do at present, I think it is more than likely that a portion of the present town of Rûp-bâs may have been built out of the loose stones of these ruins, which were more ready to hand than the rock in the quarries. The ruins of the queer old small stone houses of the *Purâni Gâm* are all jammed and crowded up close together, and the ruined houses which still remain occupy an area of about 400 feet square, in which space the ruins of perhaps about sixty stone houses are crowded together. But before the present town of Rûp-bâs was built, there can be no doubt that the *Purâni Gâm,* or "old town," must have covered an area of about from 1,000 to 1,200 feet from north to south, by about 500 or 600 feet from east to west. Narrow alleys, instead of streets, run through the ruins, between the rows of houses; and in these alleys, at various places, there are stone posts standing one on either side, which evidently once formed small gates or wickets, for invariably the stone post on one side had a square mortice hole or socket cut in the top of it, while the post on the other side had a deep hollowed-out notch cut into the side

of it near the top, which in shape somewhat resembled the hollow between the thumb and the fore-finger of the human hand when the thumb is turned inwards, and the fore-finger arched or bent down over it, or like the squared block letter form of the Roman capital letter C, or G.[1] *Purâni Gâm*, or old town, is said to have been deserted for the last thousand years.

At the back or on the southern slope of the eminence on which the old town is situated, a short distance to the rear of the ruins there are a number of slabs of stone, some standing fixed in the earth and some lying on the ground, with short Nâgari inscriptions and rude human figures sculptured on them,—the figures being more like the work of American Indians than Hindus. And here also I found a large image of Hanumân lying.

But the most ancient and interesting antiquities connected with this old deserted site are two huge monolith columns, or stone *lâts*, one in a rough, unfinished state, and the other in a smoothly rounded, or even polished and pretty well finished condition, which lie, close together, prostrate on the ground, just below the west-north-western scarp of the hill.[2] Between these prostrate monoliths and the ruins of the "old town" there is an old trench-shaped quarry, excavated in the scarp of the hill. The finished monolith is called *Bhim Sen's Lât*. The length I found by measurement to be 33 feet 6 inches, and the diameter at the thickest end 3 feet 4 inches.[3] There are numerous short detached Nâgari inscriptions engraved on various parts of this *lât*, which had evidently been cut upon the shaft as it lay on the ground; but there is no regular, connected inscription, such as one would expect to find on a column of this kind, intended, no doubt, to be erected for memorial purposes. The column, also, is without any capital. From these circumstances I came to the conclusion that the pillar had never been set up. It was no doubt, however, originally intended that this *lât* should have been erected on the summit of

[1] The stone posts with the notch in the side were about 4 feet in height, while those with the mortice hole in the top were only about 3 feet in height, which is a significant circumstance. I therefore suppose that a horizontal bar, with a pivot downwards at right angles to it, was placed on to the top of the smaller post with the mortice hole, and that the bar swung round until its end became locked somehow in the notch in the opposite post.

[2] These monoliths lie about 700 feet distant, west-north-west, from the ruins of the old town.

[3] The circumference at the thickest end, or butt, was 10 feet 2 inches,—at the smaller end 8 feet 2 inches, and the diameter of the smaller end 2 feet 8 inches.

the rocky eminence on which the ruins of the *Purâni Gâm* now stand.[1]

The other monolith is in a rough-hewn state, simply squared off into six unequal sides; but it exceeds the finished pillar of Bhim Sen in size. Its length I found to be 41 feet 3 inches, and the diameter at the thickest end varied unequally from 4 feet 3 inches to 5 feet 7 inches. This monolith was evidently deserted in the course of preparation.

The second place of interest, as to antiquities, is a rocky hill, of somewhat steeper or less gradual ascent, and more lofty and conspicuous than the eminence on which the old town is situated. This hill rises about 2½ miles to the east-north-east from Rûp-bâs. Its summit is surmounted by a great flat-topped cairn. A very short distance to the west side of the cairn there is a finished cylindrical stone monolith, or *lât*, lying prostrate on the rocky surface of the hill. This shaft narrows off towards the top, and is crowned by a double globular or double knob-shaped capital, formed of a pointed globular knob, surmounting a globular swelling, with a bead band round the neck between them, and which capital evidently was intended to have terminated in a pointed apex which is now partly broken off blunt. Below the capital there is a bead band round the neck, which then curves concavely outwards to the thickness of the body of the shaft. The capital is of a somewhat less diameter than the body or shaft of the *lât* below the neck. This monolith I found to be 22 feet 6 inches in length, including the capital, which is 2 feet in length. The diameter, at the base, is 1 foot 10½ inches. Close to the prostrate pillar there is a circular socket, cut into the solid rock of the hill, into which it was evidently intended that the *lât* should be fixed erect. The diameter of the socket I found to be 1 foot 11 inches, so that it would exactly have fitted the shaft when set up, and its depth 1 foot 3 inches.[2] This monolith is locally known by the name of the *Lo Lât*.[3]

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[1] There is, however, a circular socket cut in the solid rock in the shallow quarry, the circumference of which I found to be about 3 feet, diameter 1 foot, and the depth 8 inches. But this is far too small to have been intended for either of the great stone columns, and therefore can have no reference to them.

[2] At the distance of 4 feet 6 inches to the east of the socket there is the figure of the *yoni*, or surrounding portion of a *lingam*, carved on the horizontal surface of the rock, with a hole in the centre for the erect stone. Diameter, one way, 1 foot 8 inches; the other way, 2 feet 2¼ inches.

[3] The *Lo Lât* is about 13,200 feet, or about two miles and a half distant, north-north-east half north-east, from the old town.

All these three monoliths have been hewn and shapen out of the red sandstone which is found in plenty in the neighbourhood of Rûp-bâs.

In a flat green hollow or valley about a quarter of a mile to the west-south-west from the *Lo Lât*, there is a colossal image lying on the ground, minus the feet, and which, without the feet, measured 11 feet 9 inches in length, by 4 feet 4 inches in breadth across the shoulders; but the pedestal of the image, with portion of the feet, is still standing erect in the ground, a short distance off from the prostrate image. The head of the image is surmounted by a five-sided crown, terminating in five angular points. At the back of the head there is a large circular stone disc, or *chakra* (intended to represent a *nimbus* or "glory"), on which there are the remains of an inscription on either side of the head, but the greater portion of which inscription has been destroyed by the country people sharpening their iron tools on it! The ears of the image are long, pendulous, pointed below, and slit, and they have earrings depending from them of extraordinary size and form, the earrings being in shape something like a cornucopia attached to a lateral spiral, or very much like a combination between a cornucopia and a Scottish "snuff-mull." There is a necklace, with a lozenge-shaped or diamond-shaped object pendant from it; and there is another band or necklace which passes down over the breast in a loop, as far as the waist. There is the figure of a lotus flower on each breast. In the right hand there is a *sankh*, or conch shell; and in the left hand there is a circular, disc-shaped object, formed like a lotus flower, with a long tassel hanging down out of the centre of it, and which exactly resembles the ornament in front of the head-dress of some of the Buddhist statues brought from Mathura. There is a band or sash loosely tied round the waist, with the ends hanging down in front; and another series of bands pass from the loins down over the legs above the knees. This figure has only two arms. I consider, therefore, that it must be a representation either of the Hindu divinity Buddha, or of Surya. This sculpture is executed in a darkish dingy-coloured red sandstone.

In a modern temple, called "the temple of Deo-ji," on a rising ground about a quarter of a mile to the south from the image above described, and about 2 miles from Rûp-bâs, there are four colossal images or statues which are of much greater age than the temple, and of which one is erect, and

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three are recumbent. The erect image is of Nârâyan, with Lakshmi kneeling at his feet, and is about 9 feet in height; but the three recumbent sculptures are the most hugely colossal things that I ever saw. These sculptures are locally reputed to be representations, respectively, of Baldeo, of Thâkur-râni (the wife of Baldeo and daughter of Rewata), and a huge group, sculptured out of one single enormous stone, said to represent Yudhishthira, with Nârâyan standing on his shoulders, and surrounded by figures of the Five Pandus. The image of Baldeo is evidently the most ancient; while that of Thâkur-râni is apparently the most modern, comparatively speaking, of the three separate sculptures.

The statue of Baldeo is 27 feet 5 inches in length, including a canopy of hooded serpents over his head; that of the Thâkur-râni is about 20 feet in length; and the group of Yudhishthira, with the Five Pandus, is 20 feet 6 inches in length. Baldeo is 6 feet 8 inches across the shoulders, Thâkur-râni 6 feet 8 inches across the shoulders, and Yudhishthira is 5 feet 5 inches across the shoulders. There are inscriptions on all of these images, but the oldest inscription, on the pedestal of Baldeo, is so much defaced as almost to be illegible. The recumbent statue which is now called that of Baldeo I believe to have been originally a Jain image of Pârswa-nâtha. All the inscriptions on these images appear to be of much more modern date than the images themselves. The separate erect image of Nârâyan, with Lakshmi kneeling at his feet, was found at a distant tank called the Râm Taleya; but the three colossal recumbent images are said to have been found where they are now lying, in consequence of which the modern temple of Deo-ji was built over them, in honour of Baldeo. All these sculptures are executed in whitish-coloured sandstone.

At a short distance outside the town of Rûp-bâs towards the east, I also found the mutilated image of a *varâha*, or boar, lying half buried in the ground; and a large broken sculpture, apparently of an elephant, about 5 feet in length, was found on an eminence near the Râm Taleya, at the distance of about 600 feet east-south-east from the temple of Baldeo.

As a matter of architectural interest, it is worthy of record that on a high ground near the temple of Baldeo, in which the colossal images above described are lying, there is a round Hindu tower, of which the doorway is raised at a considerable height from the ground. As far as I can remember,

this tower appeared to have at least two, if not three, storeys, including the basement one into which the doorway enters. I do not believe this tower to be very old—perhaps not older than the time of the early predatory wars of the Mahrattas. But it is a good specimen of this kind of Hindu tower, with its characteristic elevated entrance doorway. From the little I could learn concerning the origin of this tower, it would appear to have been built in former times to protect the inmates against surprise by roving predatory bands. This tower, or rather some stone buildings built round about it and attached to it, is now inhabited by the Pujâri of the temple of Deo-ji and his assistants and their families.

Before concluding this notice of Rûp-bâs, I have some remarks to make on the subject of the quality of the sandstone, which is the rock that composes all the ridges and heights, and indeed all the gently elevated ground, in the immediate neighbourhood surrounding Rûp-bâs. This Rûp-bâs sandstone consists, for the most part, of alternate layers or strata of red and pale yellowish-white or sandy-coloured stone. It is far superior in quality, grain, compactness, and durability, to the common variegated Fatehpur Sikri stone: more especially is it superior to the wretched shaly red sandstone of which the palace of Jahângir in the fort of Agra is built; and it is equally superior to the variegated red sandstone out of which the ancient Buddhist images and pillars, and other remains, found at Mathura, were sculptured. The layers or strata of the Rûp-bâs sandstone are in general found in a horizontal position, and great unbroken masses of it may be obtained of enormous length and thickness. It is the finest sandstone for building purposes that I know of in India. The fine monolith pillars of the front of Mr. Riddell's house, commonly known as the Museum, at Agra, are said to have been procured from the Rûp-bâs quarries. These fine monolith pillars are of the pale whitish-coloured kind of Rûp-bâs sandstone. There were two enormous blocks, one of red and the other of pale whitish sandstone, exhibited at the Agra Exhibition of 1866-67, which I believe to have been brought from the Rûp-bâs quarries. Each of these enormous blocks measured 21 feet 6 inches in length, 10¼ inches in thickness, and about 3 feet 3 inches in breadth. These blocks, however, must have been cut down to their present thickness, for some of the thickest of the Rûp-bâs layers were as much as 3 feet in thickness. Some conception may be formed of the length, breadth, and thick-

ness of solid blocks which may be cut out of the Rûp-bâs quarries by the colossal dimensions of the great prostrate images in the temple of Deo-ji which were sculptured out of the white kind of the Rûp-bâs sandstone, and the dimensions of which have already been given in this report.

5—JAGNÈR.

JAGNÈR is the name of a large well-built town, at the foot, and around the northern, north-western, and western slope of a precipitous, isolated, flat-topped, rocky hill, on the top of which there is an old fort, and is situated towards the western extremity of an extreme angle of the British territory which runs between the Bharatpûr and Dholpûr States, and about 36 miles to the south-west of Agra, 14 miles to the south-south-east from Rûp-bâs, and about 18 miles to the south of Fatehpur Sikri.

The hill fort of Jagnèr bears, in a small way, a sort of general but diminutive resemblance, in appearance and position, to the much greater hill fort of Chitor. Viewed at a short distance off from either end of the hill, the projection outline of the top of the hill of Jagnèr, with the fort, has exactly the appearance of a huge tug steam-boat, stem on, with a thick low funnel and paddle-boxes.

Like that of Chitor, the horizontal outline of the plane surface of the top of the hill of Jagnèr is elliptical, widest in the middle, and becoming narrow at each end.

From the west end, the hill can be ascended by a sort of lower shoulder, on which there is a Baori well; but everywhere else the hill is inaccessible, except by a long, steep, and tedious series of stone steps which run upf rom the town of Jagnèr.

Jagnèr is locally reputed to have received its name from Jagan Sinh, the maternal uncle of Alha, the Banâphar, the hero of Mahoba, who fought against Prithvi Raja in A. D. 1183.[1] But a more ancient city and fort are said to have existed on the same site, which are reputed to have been founded by a raja of the Yadu line. The present name of Jagnèr may be derived from that of Jagan Sinh, as popular tradition would have it; but there is a class of people, pretty numerous in that locality, who are called *Jags*, who are bards and recorders of traditions, and who seem to correspond to the Bhâts of Western Râjpûtâna and Central India; and I think it at least probable that the name of Jagnèr may have originally been derived from that of the *Jags*. As

[1] Jagan Sinh would appear to have lived somewhere between A. D. 1125 and 1150. I have a suspicion that the Jagan Sinh of the Jagnèr traditions may possibly be identifiable with the Jagat Varmma of the Rajnagar MS. of the poem of the bard Chand, and of the Khajuraho MS. (See Nos. II and III of the Genealogical Lists in General Cunningham's former report on Mahoba.)

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another circumstance in favour of the latter derivation, I may mention that a temple named *Jagmandar* is alluded to in an inscription in the fort of Jagnèr.

However, as Tod clearly shows at page 742 ("Personal Narrative") of his *Annals of Râjasthân*, before and up to the year 1610 A. D., Jagnèr was in the possession of Râjpût chiefs of the Pramâra tribe, who were called "Raos of Jagnèr," but who were induced to quit Jagnèr, and to settle at Bijoli in Mewar, by Amera Sinha or Umr Singh, Raja of Mewâr. I found the descendant of this Pramâra family, originally of Jagnèr, still in possession of Bijoli, when I visited it, about the 30th November 1872. It may be as well here to quote the exact words of Tod on this subject. He says :—

"In February I recommenced my march for Oodipoor, and having halted a few days at Boondí, and found all there as my heart could wish, I resumed the march across the Pat'har, determined to put into execution my wish of visiting Mynâl. About ten miles north, on this side of it, I halted at Bijollí, one of the principal fiefs of Mewár, held by a chief of the Pramár tribe, with the title of Rao. This family, originally Raos of Jugnair, near Biana, came into Mewár in the time of the great Umr Singh, with all his *bussie* (*i. e., vasi*, tenantry), upwards of two centuries ago; the Rana having married the daughter of Rao Asoca, to whom he assigned an estate worth five lakhs annually."

The terminal syllable *nèr*, or *èr*, which we find in the name of Jagnèr, and in that of so many places in Râjpûtâna (such as "Ach-nèr," "Job-nèr," "Bika-nèr," "Sanga-nèr," "Champa-nèr," "Bal-nèr," "Aj-mèr," &c.), might be supposed to be equivalent either to the Dakhini word *nèṛe*, which signifies under the care or protection of; or to the Hindi *ár*, which signifies a screen, a shelter, a protection, or that which hinders or prevents; as an enclosure, or an encircling fortification wall, or a fence, or a barricade. Thus the terminal *èr*, if the same as the Hindi *ár*, when suffixed to the name of any *place*, might indicate a spot reserved or an inclosure; while, when attached to the name of a town or city in particular, it might perhaps be construed into a sense nearly equivalent to the biblical term "a fenced city."

There is, however, a fact which entirely militates against the derivation of this terminal syllable *èr* from the Hindi word *ár*, for which reason I have merely said that it is *equivalent* to it,—namely, that the actual syllabic particle which terminates the names of numerous places in Western-

Central India, such as "Job-nèr," "Bika-nèr," "Ach-nèr," &c., is *not èr*, but *nèr!* Now, I have already remarked that, in what is called the Dakhini dialect, there is the word *nère*, which signifies in the shelter of, or under the protection of, or under the care of; and this latter word, if not derived from some aboriginal dialect, would seem to be connected with the Hindi verb *nernâ*, which signifies to care for, or to take care of; and both of which latter words, again, would seem to be connected with the Sanskrit *nédin*, or the Prakrit *nèrau*, and the Hindi *nére*,[1] near, along with, close to or by. Consequently *Jag-nèr* would signify a place under the care or protection of either some one named Jag, or of the people or tribe called Jags, before referred to.[2]

But, in one sense, that which is under the care or in the charge of any one, *belongs* to that person or persons. Therefore I would interpret the name of *Jag-nèr* as having originally been intended to signify the place belonging to, or in the possession of, the *Jags*.

On the whole it may, I think be concluded, with considerable certainty, not only from the traditions current in Jagnèr itself, but also on evidence corroborated by the traditions of neighbouring localities, that Jagnèr was originally founded by the Yadus; but that it was in after times restored and repaired by Jagan Sinh and Alha of the Banâphar tribe, after whose time it fell into the possession of a Pramâra family, who were Raos of Jagnèr up to the year 1610 A. D., as we may infer from the information afforded us by Tod, already quoted.

Like many other places, Jagnèr eventually fell into the possession of the Muhammadans, and in the time of Akbar it was held by a governor deputed by him. From a Nâgari inscription in a fine arched gateway of red sandstone, of the time of Akbar, in the western part of the fort, we learn that, in the year *Samvat 1628* (A. D. 1571), in the month of *Mârg*,[3] this structure was erected by *Maha-râjâ-dhi Râja Dèva Sèni*," the son (*Sûtâ*) of *Maha-râjâ ûparn* (or *uvarn*) *Sri Bhoj Jagmal Jû Dév, Jagnéri vansi,——Jagmandaru, mandalu, Kanaspavara* (?) (or *ûnaspavara?*) *sûbhanat* * *

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[1] *Hamârâ nére*—with me, or in my possession—is a common expression among Hindus, especially among *gañwars*, or villagers, in Upper India.

[2] For a more full and exhaustive investigation as to the origin and signification of the terminations *nèr* and *mèr*, see my separate short notice of *Achnèr*, preceding this.

[3] The month of *Mârgasirsha* is meant, of which *Mârg* is simply a contraction. It is now more commonly called *Aghan*.

* * * * * * *Patisahi Akbarri* (or *Akbarwa?* [1]).

Herein there is apparently reference made to some temple called *Jag-mandar*, which name evidently must have some connection with that of Jagnèr.[2]

Some portions of the walls of the fort, and several of the most ruined buildings in it (including ruined dwellings, and the ruined remains of two or three shrines or temples), are certainly of old Hindu construction, if not, in some cases, even ancient; but most of the other remaining buildings now standing, and all the larger and more perfect structures, and especially two gateways in the fort, are not older than the time of Akbar; and the oldest dated Nâgari inscriptions I could find in the fort were of the year *Samvat 1628*. Besides the inscription in the gateway above mentioned, I also found the simple date, *Samvat 1628*, engraved on an isolated elevated rock in the fort, on which a sort of small citadel, now in ruins, stands. In the second or inner western gateway, the builder or stone mason has his name inscribed on a pillar in the side of the gateway, "in the name of Rama," as *Sitolo Shonta* (or Sitolokhonta), *Karigara*.

On the pilasters, or squared half pillars, on either side of the entrance to a ruined shrine or temple, in a small enclosure towards the north-western corner of the fort, there are a few lines in Nâgari inscribed, which are somewhat worn and defaced, and which have the appearance of being somewhat older than the other inscriptions before quoted. In one of these, I read the words, "*Sâne palu shade stamba nua.*" This temple is decidedly of older date than any of the exsiting inscriptions in the fort. The squared half pillars on either side of the doorway are adorned with ornamental sculpture. From near the top of the pillar there proceeds a sculptured chain suspending a bell, which has a large clapper in the shape of a cross, from which depends a cone-shaped object with stepped sides. The rest of the pillar is ornamented with bands of sculpture. The pillars have bracket capitals with voluted brackets. Below this, the top of the shaft of the pillar is ornamented with a band of depending points, each terminating in a circular or star-shaped flower. This is followed, next below, by a band composed of double

[1] This inscription is in the *Pûrbi* form of the Nâgari character, or rather what is called the *Munya* character.

[2] We have, connected with this single locality, no less than five names, all commencing with the syllable *Jag*—namely, *Jagnèr, Jagan Sinh, Jag-mandar, Jag-mal,* and the people called *Jags*.

arched lines, or double curves, long vertically, of which the convexity is upwards. In the centre of the next band there is a thick cross-shaped object, from which the chain of the bell appears to depend. Below the bell there is a band of lozenge-shaped figures, vertically depressed and broad longitudinally. Next follows an elegant band composed of radiated objects which exactly resemble scallop shells. Below this, there is a band with a sort of wavy wreath or festoon. This is followed by a band of vertically long-shaped-lozenge figures. The lowest band of all has the figure of a *lingam* in its centre. The actual form of these half pillars is that of a square front projection, with a square wing on each side; so that a transverse or horizontal section of one of these pillars would present the form of the half of a cross. The downward outline of the base presents a gentle ogee slope.

The interior chamber or sanctum of this ruined shrine is square, it being 7 feet 11 inches each way. From a doorway in the wing walls on each side, a semicircular passage, 5 feet 8 inches in width at the sides, and 3 feet 6 inches at the back, passes completely round the sides and back of the sanctum. This passage was probably intended for the purpose of circumambulation. The decreased width at the back is caused by a projection at the rear of the sanctum. This semicircular passage is surrounded exteriorly by a semicircular wall, 2 feet thick, the two ends of which join on to the extended wing walls of the front of the shrine, on either side, so that the exterior semicircular wall forms part of one and the same building, and the whole was originally covered in by one roof. The whole building has thus the appearance, from outside to the rear, of a large half-moon bastion; and the outer semicircular wall no doubt served as a sort of casing to protect the inner shrine. The diameter or chord of the semicircle, interiorly, is about 24 feet 10 inches, while the radius is about 13 feet 7 inches; so that, in reality, it is a little more than a semicircle. The total diameter, from outside to outside, is about 28 feet 10 inches or 29 feet.

There are two other circular or bastion-shaped structures which project beyond the walls of the fort, on either side, about mid-way from each end. These are circular exteriorly, and octagonal interiorly. One of these structures—that on the north side—may probably have been intended as an actual covered bastion, and is entered simply through the line of wall to which it is attached; but the corresponding

structure on the south side is entered from a series or connected group of buildings, which appear to have constituted the old palace of the fort, where probably the rajas resided in old times. The interiorly octagonal and exteriorly circular bastion-shaped structure above referred to, which is entered from these palatial buildings and projects beyond them exteriorly, is surmounted by a Hindu step-domed roof, formed of slabs of stone placed one above the other, round a centre, so as to cross each other at the angles, and to overlap each other inwardly, thus decreasing the space upwardly until surmounted by a single central cap-stone covering the whole in. The diameter of the interior chamber is 11 feet 10 inches from angle to angle, or 11 feet 8 inches from side to side, of the octagon. The total diameter, from outside to outside, is 17 feet.

The palatial buildings just adjoining this, as above described, extended from thence, interiorly, towards the centre of the fort. They contain a central court, 37 feet 7 inches square, round which ranges of buildings or apartments are grouped, on the southern, western, and northern sides of the court. Those buildings which face into and are entered from the court, on the northern and western sides, have pillared *dallâns* in front of them. The pillars, which are in a tottering condition, are somewhat plain, but antique-looking, and surmounted by bracket capitals. The whole of the buildings in this group are decidedly old, and have an unmistakeably antique appearance about them.

The fort is divided across centrically by a wall, through the middle of which a gateway passes, into two almost equal parts. The western portion has just been described above in detail, but from which we must except the temple surrounded by a semicircular exterior wall, which belongs to the eastern parts, and which was described previously.

The eastern portion of the fort is composed principally of a great court, 79 feet by 51 feet 6 inches, which is surrounded on three sides north, west, and south—by a continuous range of buildings, which look into the court and are entered from it. There are sixteen separate apartments which are entered by doorways from this court.

On either side of the central gateway, which divides the eastern from the western portion, there are steps which ascend to the western part of the fort.

The total length of the fort is about 477 feet; and the breadth, across the centre, about 83 feet.

The height of the hill of Jagnèr, from the low ground surrounding it, may be above 400 feet.

There is a small cave, or rather a hollow terminating in a fissure in the rock, on the north-eastern side of the hill of Jagnèr, near its summit, connected with which there is a curious and interesting tradition.

It is said that long ago, at some period the date of which does not appear to be correctly known, a Hindu *jogi*, or hermit, a holy man, lived in a cave on the hill of Jagnèr. He possessed a cow (or, according to some accounts, milch goats) which afforded him milk, and which he entrusted to the care of a *gwála*, or herdsman, to pasture. At the end of a certain term agreed upon, the herdsman came to the holy man for his hire. But the hermit, in return, gave the man only a handful of grains of wheat or barley. The herdsman went away grumbling, dissatisfied and offended at being, as he thought, so shabbily treated, and threw away the handful of corn which he had received. On his road home, however, he happened to notice that some of the grains had remained adhering to his clothing; but to his utter astonishment, these were no longer common grains of corn, but they had turned into grains of *gold!* The herdsman then thought better of the matter, and turned back towards the hermit's cave, in order to ask for some more of these wonderful grains of corn, which turned into gold, to make up for the loss of those which he had at first so contemptuously thrown away. But when he again reached the spot where he had so lately left the holy man sitting in quiet contemplation, the herdsman, to his consternation, found that the mouth of the cave had contracted and closed up, and that the hermit himself had disappeared and could nowhere be found! While the perplexed peasant stood hesitating what to do, and pondering over the miraculous events which had just occurred, a supernatural voice was suddenly heard proceeding from the cave, saying, "Go thy way, and learn patience and wisdom and calm judgment, and discrimination of things! Cherish those creatures which I have cherished: and let people henceforth make a pilgrimage unto this place yearly; and those who shall present offerings at this spot shall be blessed with fruitfulness and prosperity."

In consequence of the above supernatural command, as it is pretended, a *mela*, or fair, is held at this spot once every year, at which not only the people from the surrounding country attend, but also pilgrims from considerable

distances (of whom numbers are women), who make offerings at the shrine along with contributions to the attendant *jogis* and Brahmans. The pilgrims ascend to the shrine, which is situated just under the summit of the rock, on the upper north-eastern face of the hill, by a long and tedious series of stone steps or stairs, which run up to it from about the middle of Jagnèr, a little towards the back of the town.

But Brahmans and *jogis* are not the only recipients of offerings at this period. The descendants of the creatures which had been cherished by the old hermit still exist and frequent the spot, and receive their due share of attention, which is not inconsiderable. I have before said that what is called the cave is in reality a hollow in the side of the overhanging rock, in the back of which there is a narrow deep fissure which retreats into the rock. This fissure, the interior extent of which is unknown, but is probably considerable, is inhabited by a colony of those pretty little animals, the *Paradoxurus musanga*, or common tree cat, the "Toddy cat" of the south of India. They bear some slight resemblance to a marten, in general appearance, and are about the size of a civet cat. They are of a clouded greyish colour, with very long, well-furred, prehensile tails, and pretty little faces slightly striped. They climb trees, and live either among trees or among rocks. They may be said to be in a measure somewhat omnivorous; that is to say, at least, they live upon food of very various kinds. They will eat the fruit of certain trees in gardens; and they will also devour the eggs of birds, or the callow young in the nest, and catch tree mice. They have also been known to eat large caterpillars, some of the large green tree *gryllidæ* and locusts, and also the honeycomb of the wild bee, and tree snails. In the south of India, they have been accused of ascending the *Târi* (vulgo *Toddy*) palm trees, and imbibing the juice from which the natives make a drink. In confinement, when tamed, they become very fond of sweets, and readily eat raw flesh, although they will *not* thrive well on the *latter* alone. They will also eat bread-and-milk.

The pretty little animals of this species, which live in the fissure of the rock at the shrine on the hill of Jagnèr, have become half tame, through the frequent presence of visitors. Whenever visitors arrive at the spot, as soon as the little creatures hear the footsteps and voices, one or two of them may be seen shily peeping out of their retreat, until at length they make bold to advance to the mouth of their

little cave, to see what they can get. A barrier, however, separates them from the visitor. The native visitors and pilgrims generally throw them some kind of sweetmeats, principally those of the kind called *batáshas* by the native. They also offer them milk. The sweetmeats they eat up greedily, and it is pleasant to see the pretty little animals quickly cracking them between their little sharp white teeth. Three of them showed themselves while I was there.

These animals are supposed to be the lineal descendants of those which were induced to become familiar, and fed daily from his scanty fare, by the old hermit, before mentioned, in ancient times; and consequently they are treated with superstitious respect and consideration by the native pilgrims and visitors.

A canopy of masonry, supported on pillars, is built against the rock, in front of the little cave, and thus forms a kind of shrine.

Beyond this a sort of inclined causeway, with steps here and there, passes between modern *chatris* along the side of the fort, eastwards, until at length, by another flight of steps, one arrives at the eastern gate of the fort.

On a rising ground, about half a mile from the town, on the north side of the road which comes in from Sarhendi to Jagnèr, there are the remains of a mud fort which was constructed by the Mahrattas.

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6—SATMÂS.

SATMÂS is the name of a village, about 2 miles to the north-east of Jagnèr, in an elevated position, situated in a cleft between two hills, over which there is a pass by a pathway, among a range of hills which run in a north-easterly direction from near Jagnèr.

The interest connected with this locality has, however, nothing to do with the village, but with a particular spot at the back, or east side, of the range of hills on which Satmâs is situated. Here, on the eastern slope of the hill, and in a valley which lies between it and another long hill to the east, there are numerous *cairns*, or both conical and flat-topped heaps of stones. I counted nearly thirty cairns on the slope of the hill, which appeared to me, on examination, to be really ancient, and built for sepulchral purposes; besides others on the ridge of the hill which had a more modern appearance, and which latter may have been constructed by cattle-herds as *amirâs* or elevated seats to sit on while watching their cattle grazing on the hill sides, a custom which I found to prevail through many parts of Râjpûtâna; but the practised eye soon learns to distinguish a really ancient sepulchral cairn from one raised by cattle-herds: besides an actual examination of the cairn very soon settles the question.

With regard to those of the cairns which I distinguished from the rest as being really old, as indicated above, I found reason, from personal examination, to consider them to be the work of aborigines; and I still continue to retain the same opinion. But as I shall presently give a minute description of several of these cairns, archælologists will be able to judge whether the opinion I formed is correct or not.

The inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Jagnèr and Satmâs, however, give a different account of the origin of these cairns. They have a tradition to the effect that these cairns mark the several spots where certain individuals belonging to a marriage party passing that way were killed in bygone times, either by a band of robbers, or by some persons with whom they had a quarrel, or who bore an ill-will against them. They say that as the marriage party was passing along the hill side, where there is a path, towards the home of the bridegroom, they were attacked by

another party, who were armed for the purpose; and that a great number of the former were killed, some slaughtered on the spot where they stood, and others were struck down in various directions, while fleeing hither and thither, in the attempt to escape.

According to one account, the cairns were raised to mark the spots where these unfortunate people fell; while, according to another account, after this massacre, every person passing that way threw a stone on each spot where the mouldering remains of the dead bodies lay, until at length a heap or cairn of stones became thus by degrees accumulated on each of the spots. This puts one in mind of a well-known ancient custom which prevailed among the Celtic people of the Highlands of Scotland, where every person attending a funeral threw a stone on each spot where the bier rested on its way to the burial-ground; and on any spot where a murder had been committed, or where a person had died, or where a man had been killed in battle, or in an affray, every passer-by threw a stone,—until, in each case, a large cairn became accumulated thereon. "*Cuiridh mise clach ad charn sa*"—"I will add," or "contribute, a stone to your cairn[1]"—was a common saying among the Highlanders of Scotland, and was the most friendly thing that one man could say to another, and really signified that the man who said it, would stand by his friend to the last, as the last office of duty and affection which one Highlander could perform for another was to place a stone reverently on his cairn; for these cairns were monuments raised to the memory of the departed.

Somewhat similar customs seem to have been practised by both the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal races, and also by some of the warlike Aryan tribes, of India, even up to modern times. Tod, in his *Travels in Western India*, page 30, says—"Here we passed a cairn of loose stones, marking the spot where the nephew of Pudzaroh had been slain in the rescue of his cattle." He mentions, at the same time, that Pudzaroh and his nephew were Minas, and belonged to a Mina tribe of Ootwun in the south-west

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[1] Or, literally translated into Lowland Scottish, "I will *ca* a stone on your cairn,"—that is—I will fetch or cause to be put, or place, a stone on to your cairn.

The Lowland Scottish verb to *ca*, and the Gaëlic verb *cuir*, are nearly equivalent to the Hindi verb *karna*.

"Wad *ca* a nail in't" (Burns)—*i. e.*, would drive a nail into it.

of Mewár. Again, in his *Annals of Rájasthán*, page 648, "Personal Narrative," he says—

> "We passed the *cairn* of a Rajpoot who fell defending his post against the Meenas of the Kairar, a tract on the banks of the Banâs, filled with this banditti, in one of their last irruptions which disturbed the peace of this region. Each traveller adds a stone, and I gave my mite to swell the heap."

Among the old Celtic people of the British Isles, when a cairn was raised over the actual grave of a dead person, it was generally accompanied by a tall standing stone, or, in Christian times, by a stone cross placed erect in the ground, —sometimes by both, if the relatives were rich enough to afford the expense of proper funeral obsequies, which, in ancient times, generally included the construction of a rude stone *cist*, in the grave, formed of loose slabs of stone, and in which the body was laid. Celtic traditions would also lead us to believe that, in very ancient times, a circle of stones was frequently placed round sepulchral cairns, which constituted a sort of charmed circle which was supposed to be a protection against evil spirits and the evil eye, and also against any encroachment upon the sacred precincts of the tomb. Where several of these latter were grouped together in one spot, as in a place for burial, it was called "Carnach," or "Clâchan," the last of which terms is attached to the names of many villages in the Highlands of Scotland,—as, for instance, the "Clâchan of Aberfoil;" but the term originally signified the spot on which sepulchral cairns and memorial stones stood, or where there had been a mystic Druidical circle of stones. The Gaëlic term "clâchan" (which is derived from "clach," a stone) literally signifies a place of stones. The name of the place called "Carnac" in Brittany, where there is a great and remarkable semicircle of about four thousand erect stones in eleven rows, has exactly the same meaning.[1]

The Gaëlo-Celtic term for a stone of memorial is "*Clach na chuimhneachan;*" and the famous stone on which the ancient Scottish kings were crowned was called "*Clach-na-cineamhuinn,*" which literally signified, in old Celtic, "The stone of reminder."[2] "Carragh" signifies a monumental pillar.

[1] In the Pushto language of Afghânistan, *kârrn-aey* signifies a stone; and *kârrnedz* means stony, or abounding with stones.

[2] This famous historic stone was also called "*Leacfaidheil,*" which signifies "The prophetic stone" or "The stone of prophecy;" and "*Clach-na-mhanadh,*" or "*Clach-manadhan,*" which meant "The stone of fate" or enchantment; or "The stone of augury" or omens; or "The magical stone." This latter term is also the origin of the name of the place called "Clackmannan," in Scotland.

All this reminds us of the "stones of Gilgal" mentioned in the Bible; for at that place twelve memorial stones were set up in testimony of a sacred event.[1]

With regard to the Satmâs cairns: I do not think that the story of the massacre of the marriage party need necessarily, in any way, militate against the antiquity of the cairns, for we are not supplied with even any proximate date of their origin. All that the people could say, on that head, was that they believed that the affair happened very long ago. For aborigines marry and give in marriage, as well as Hindus or others; and therefore the marriage party in question may just as well have been composed of aborigines as of Hindus.

In the absence, therefore, of any recorded date, I think we may be perfectly justified in ascribing these cairns to the work of the aborigines.

I shall now therefore proceed to give a description of the cairns.

I may state that I opened and examined several of them personally, and I found them to be of three different forms or kinds, namely:

1. *Round-topped*, or *tumulus-shaped solid cairn*, beneath and below the level of which a shallow sepulchral chamber, or trough, has been excavated in the rock.
2. *Flat-topped four-sided cairn*, composed of loose rubble stones, but with slabs of stone laid on to the top of it, and generally containing a small square chamber at the bottom of the mass, but in the body of the cairn and above ground.
3. *Cromlech cairn.* A peculiar kind of structure which may be described as something intermediate between a hollow four-sided cairn and a cromlech; or, in other words, it is a kind of cromlech, of which the four side walls are composed of loose rubble stones, and the top only covered in with either one or two large slabs of stone. It thus contains a rectangular chamber within it, like a cromlech, only that the walls are composed of loose rubble stones instead of slabs. Beneath this a sort of square-sided, oblong trough, or sepulchral chamber, is hollowed out in the surface of the rock, which is sometimes filled up or covered in with small stones.

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[1] "Gilgal" may have signified originally either a circle or ring of stones, or a rolling together of stones, as it is an inflected form of *Gal (e) gal*, which means a wheel, or a disc, or any circular figure or object like a wheel, and the latter is derived from the Hebrew verb *gâlal*, to roll; but it is only that which is of a circular or a round form which can roll. *Galeed* in Hebrew signifies a heap (of stones) in remembrance; and *Jegar-sahâdutha*, derived from a different Semitic dialect, meant a heap, or pile, in testimony of anything. These two latter terms were the names given by Jacob and Laban to the heap or cairn of stones which they raised as the token and memorial, for ever, of a covenant made between them.

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Many of the cairns were in a very dilapidated and broken-down condition, so that it was difficult to ascertain their exact dimensions with any degree of certainty. But in as far as I was able to ascertain, I may state that their dimensions were, as nearly as possible, about as follows :

The dimensions of these cairns and cromlechs were very various. Some of the round-topped cairns were as much as 10 to 12 feet in diameter, while others were somewhat less. The shallow rectangular chamber excavated in the rock under the bottom of the cairn was just of sufficient dimensions, in length, breadth, and depth, to contain the body of a man of low stature, in a reclining position, with the knees somewhat bent up. Not one single chamber was so much as 6 feet in length, and generally only about 5 feet.

The flat-topped cairns, surmounted by slabs of stone, and containing a small square chamber at their bottom in the body of the cairn above ground, were less in diameter than the round-topped cairns, or about 4 feet 6 inches in height, and about between 5 and 6 feet in transverse horizontal measurement from outside to outside, at top, the dimensions increasing at the bottom owing to the sides of the cairn sloping outwardly downwards to the base. These, of course, are a mean of the measurements taken from two or three of such cairns. The chamber in the interior of these cairns was so small that it would necessitate the doubling up of a corpse in a squatting position, with the knees against the breast, and the head bent down on the knees, in order to allow of its being placed in such a chamber. The mean size of the chamber, in two different cairns of this description, was about 2 feet 4 inches in height, by about 2 feet in diameter.

The mean dimensions derived from the measurement of two of the cromlech cairns were about 6 feet 6 inches in length, by about 4 feet to 5 feet in breadth, though one was nearly square, and about 4 feet to 4 feet 6 inches in height. The shallow trough, or sepulchral chamber, sunk in the rock at the bottom of the cromlech, was of about the same length as the interior of the cromlech, or about 5 feet, and about 2 feet in width.

There was very little in the form of remains to be found in these cairns ; but the little that I did find was sufficient to prove that they had been constructed for sepulchral purposes, or the interment of human remains, either whole or in fragments, after cremation. After clearing out the earth and small stones from several of the cairns and cromlechs, I

found, in some cases, mostly in the round-topped cairns and cromlechs, a few small fragile fragments of bones *in sitû*, or in such a position as to lead one to suppose that the body had been interred whole; while, in other cases, mostly in the flat-topped cairns, I found very small atoms of bone mixed with what appeared to be ashes.

My report on Khèra, beyond Fatehpur Sikri, which precedes this, and my reports on Baiñsakuri, near Jagnèr, and Tirhet, or Lakhanpur, including a notice of Toutpur, about 5 miles to the north-west of Jagnèr, which follow, will show that the very same forms and modes of sepulture as I observed at Satmâs were also found at one or other of the above places, which I think is a convincing proof, if proof be wanted, that my opinion expressed concerning the true origin of the Satmâs cairns must be correct. But if, on the contrary, the Satmâs cairns can be demonstrated by any one to be of more modern origin, and *not* constructed by the aborigines, then it necessarily follows, from analogy, that the cairns which I found at the other places above mentioned must also be of more modern date than that which I attribute to them. But it must be remembered that such a conclusion would equally affect the case of all such similar remains, wherever found in India.

We learn from the writings of Sir John Malcolm that the genuine or wild Bhils raised cairns to the memory of their chiefs when they died, and poured oil on the top of the cairns afterwards, to which they added red-lead; which reminds us of the fact mentioned in the Bible, that Jacob poured oil on the stones which he raised. From enquiries made of Bhils by myself, I have reason to believe that some of the genuine Bhils still raise cairns of stones over the graves of the dead, particularly over that of a person of consequence, or to whom any superstitious attribute is attached.

I found cairns, and other lithic remains, in various other parts of Râjpûtâna; as, for instance, on the hills to the west of Fatehpur Sikri, at various places in the neighbourhood of Jagnèr, at Mâchâri, at Deosâ, and also, again, further south.

I have already previously mentioned that Tod gives two instances, in one of which Minas raised a cairn on the spot where a person was killed, and, in another, a cairn was raised on a spot where a Râjpût was killed in a fight against Minas.

Now, there was a curious circumstance which I noticed in Râjpûtâna, and which struck me as being rather remarkable; and that was, that cairns, &c., of the various kinds which I have described, seemed to be most numerous in those parts where Minas formed the most considerable component portion of the population. This, of course, may have been the case by mere accident, or it may have been a mere coincidence; but still it is worthy of consideration.

We also know that the ancient Greeks, and the ancient Pelasgian races generally, raised similar mounds over the illustrious dead.

Again, at Darab, in the Province of Fârs, in Persia, there is a great circle of huge stones, surrounded by a deep ditch and a high bank of earth (as at Stonehenge and Abury).

Thus it can be plainly proved that the custom of raising cairns, constructing cromlechs, and erecting stone circles, for sepulchral and memorial purposes, or for sacerdotal mysteries, was not confined to pre-historic aborigines, nor even to one race; but was practised in common by various races and nations throughout the world,—by *Aborigines*, by the *Hebrews* and other *Semitic* tribes, by *Aryans*, by *Pelasgians*, and by *Celts*.

7—BAIÂNA, OR BÂÑÂSUR.

BAIÂNA lies on the left bank of the Gambir river, about 50 miles,[1] as the bird flies, or about 65 miles by the road, to the west-south-west from Agra. It is situated at the foot of a south-eastern salient angle of a massive and precipitous range of granite hills, which are in reality not detached hills, but constitute simply one immense elevated granitic table-land, the upper surface or summit of which forms, with a few exceptions, a sort of undulating plateau. Here and there it is intersected by a few short, chasm-like gorges; but the sides of this high table-land are everywhere precipitous, and in many places absolutely perpendicular, and the cliff-like precipices are almost everywhere totally inaccessible, except at a very few points.

The fortress of *Vijaymandar Garh*, the ancient name of which was *Santipûr*, is situated on a precipitous spur at the western extremity of the same range, and about 6 miles to the west of Baiâna. This ancient and extensive fortress has been considerably added to, at various periods, in later times, by both the Muhammadans and the Jâts, successively: but the original Hindu fortress was of very ancient foundation indeed.

The local traditions connected with the history of the town of Baiâna, and of the fortress of Vijaymandar Garh or Santipûr, are exceedingly interesting in a historical point of view; but, although the traditions concerning these two places are identical, or equally affect both of them, they must, owing to their separate position and characteristics, be described separately from one another.

The common Hindu name of the town is locally pronounced as *Baiâna* or *Bayâna;* and the Muhammadan form of the name is *Biânah.* The ancient name of Baiâna was *Bâñâsur*, but it will require a reference to the ancient traditions of the place in order to explain the origin of the name. It is said that Baiâna was founded by Bâñâsur, who was the son of Raja Bal or Bali, and some of the people of Baiâna seemed to think that the family to which Bâñâsur belonged were of the Lunar race, or were at least in some way connected by descent with the family of Krishna. They, at any rate, mostly agreed in asserting that certain of the ancient Rajas of Baiâna and Santipûr were of the

[1] The direct distance, as measured on the map, appears to be about 47 miles.

Lunar race, and some of them of the Yadu line. But, although it is very probable that some of the ancient Rajas of Baiâna and Santipûr may have been of the Lunar race, I shall presently be able to show that Bâñâsur and Raja Bal were the descendants of Kasyapa, the son of *Marîchi*, of the Solar race; and therefore, of course, could not have been of the Lunar race, and could have had no connection with it, except through a marriage alliance, which will now be mentioned. Bâñâsur had a son called Askandha, and also a daughter called Ukha, who became the wife of Anirudha, who was a grandson of Krishna. This fact my informants concerning the Baiâna traditions also mentioned to me and confirmed. But some of them said that they thought that Ukha was the sister of Bâñâsur. In the *Ukha Charitra* and the *Prem Sagar*, however, Ukha is plainly stated to have been a daughter of Bâñâsur. The Baiâna people also gave *Anârdhnâth* or *Anrudhnâth* as the name of the grandson of Krishna, who married Ukha, the daughter of Bâñâsur. But in the *Ukha Charitra* he is called Anirudha; and in the *Prem Sagar*, Anrudru.

With regard to the name of *Ukha*, it is worthy of remark that, in the *Ukha Charitra*, the name of *Ukha* is written with the cerebral letter *sh*, as if her name were *Usha;* though the cerebral *sh* is vulgarly pronounced as *kh* in the modern dialects of India. It is evident, therefore, that her name may be pronounced as *Usha*, and that *Usha* must have been her original name. Now, *Ushas* is the ancient Vedic Sanskrit name for the dawn, or Aurora. Bâñâsur is said to have had a thousand arms, from which circumstance we may suppose he derived his name, as *Bânh-Asur* would literally signify *the arm-Asur*, or *the Asur of many arms.* But a figure, or image, having many or innumerable arms, is a symbol of the *Sun;* for the sun is poetically called the many-armed, and he has often been mythologically represented as a figure with many arms. If, then, the fabulous attributes of Bâñâsur, in being provided with a thousand arms, might be considered as a mythological impersonification of the Sun, one might look upon *Ukha*, or *Usha*, as *Ushas*, or the *Dawn*, and as thus poetically representing the daughter of the Sun.

I have before remarked that some of the Baiâna people seemed to fancy that the family of Bâñâsur and Raja Bal had been of the Lunar race, which, however, as I have before intimated, there is good reason to believe is simply

impossible. But as certain of the ancient Rajas of Baiâna and Santipûr were confidently asserted by them to have been of the Lunar race, if it were not for other reasons that will be stated presently, and also that it would be a very unlikely or improbable thing, in India, that a man would marry his first cousin (that is, a woman so nearly related by blood), one might perhaps almost be tempted to suppose that there might have been some confusion made between the name of Raja Bal or Bali, of the Baiâna traditions, and that of *Balarâma*, alias *Balbhadra*, alias *Baldèva*, the brother of Krishna. For, unless Raja Bal could have been a descendant of the same tribe as Krishna (which was not the case), his son, *Bâñâsur*, the reputed founder of Baiâna, and his descendants, who are said to have been the most ancient Rajas of Baiâna and Santipûr, could *not* have been of the Yadu line of the Lunar race, as they were suggested to have been by some of the people at Baiâna.

But such a supposition as the above becomes at once impracticable and impossible when we know that there was an actual *Raja Bal*, or *Bali*, of quite a different race. *Bali*, or *Raja Bal*, or *Mahâ Bali*, was the son of *Vairûchana Âsûr*, who was the son of *Prahlâda*, king of the country of Multan; and *Prahlada* was the son of *Hiranyâksha*, or *Hiranyakaşipu*. The latter (*Hiranyakaşipu*) was the son of *Kasyapa*, who was the son of *Marîchi*, of the Solar race. *Kasyapa* was the great ancestor of the whole *Asura* race, by his wife *Diti;* while, by his wife *Kadru*, *Kasyapa* was also the progenitor of the whole *Nâga*, or ophite, or serpent race.

Among the Hindu traditions, we find at least two different versions of the history of Bâñâsur and Raja Bal, and Ukha, the daughter of Bâñâsur. The account given in the 73rd chapter of the *Prem Sagar* is probably pretty well known to most Europeans in India; but the *Ukha Charitra*, although one of the most favourite and popular tales among natives, is perhaps not so well known to Europeans. Now, the account given in the *Prem Sagar* differs considerably in many points from that which is given in the *Ukha Charitra*. The scene of the tale, as given in the *Prem Sagar*, is laid at a place called *Shronitpûr;* while, in the *Ukha Charitra*, the scene of the tale is laid at Santipûr, which is the old name of *Vijaymandar Garh*, near Baiâna. Now I see, in General Cunningham's Archæological Report for 1871-72, that, while on a visit to a place

called Masâr, about 6 miles to the west of Arah, in North Behar, he was told by the people there that the old name of that place was Santipûr; and he mentions that a statue of Bâñâsur formerly stood on the top of a ruined mound at Masâr. General Cunningham therefore appears to have inferred that Masâr was the Shronitpûr which was the capital of Bâñâsur. But Indian traditions of this kind are sometimes so very vague and confused that wonderful events, such as those connected with Bâñâsur might easily have been localised at two different places, as widely apart as Masâr and Baiâna—much in the same manner as many of the traditions concerning the British King Arthur and his queen Gwennhwyvar are localised at various places both in Scotland and in Wales; the south of Scotland having really been the original scene of many of the incidents, the traditions concerning which were afterwards localised in Wales and its neighbourhood by colonies, or refugees, of the Cumbrian Britons and Ottadini, and Gadeni, who made two different migrations from the north southwards—*first*, under Kenneth Leod, or *Cunedha Wledig;* and, *secondly*, under Hobert, the brother of Constantine, King of Strath-Clyde, in Scotland, in both of which cases colonies of northern Britons removed from the south of Scotland and the border provinces, and settled in Wales. Now, it is well known that the ancient name of Baiâna was Bâñâsur; and it is perfectly certain that the ancient name of Vijaymandar Garh, near Baiâna, was Santipûr—a fact well known to all the more intelligent inhabitants of Baiâna and its neighbourhood, and which I found was also well known to some of the native occupants of the ruined fortress of Vijaymandar Garh. Besides this, there is an old ruined temple in Baiâna called Ukha Mandar, and which is said to have been originally founded by Ukha, the daughter of Bâñâsur; while the people of Baiâna say that Baiâna was founded by Bâñâsur himself, and that his capital was situated at or near Baiâna. As, therefore, the *Ukha Charitra* places the scene of the tale at Santipûr, which is the old name of Vijaymandar Garh, near Baiâna, it seems to me evident that the account given by the *Ukha Charitra* must be the true and correct one; while the account given in the *Prem Sagar* must be false and erroneous. One can therefore only suppose one of two things; namely, either that some old place called Santipûr, in Behar, may have been identified either with Shronitpûr or Santipûr, by mistake, from a mere similarity of name; or else that, as

the Hindus gradually moved eastwards and colonised Behar and Bengal, they carried the traditions concerning Bâñâsur along with them, and then localised them at Masâr, the real ancient name of which was *Mahasâra*. Perhaps Mahasâra may have been a contraction or corruption of *Maha-Saritpûr*, which might easily have been gradually contracted to Mahasâra by the Buddhists, and to Saritpûr by the Brahmanical Hindus; and Saritpûr would naturally become Sonitpûr in the broad boorish dialect of the natives of Behar; while the Shronitpûr of the *Prem Sagar* is probably only the thick Bengali mode of pronouncing the same word. Moreover, General Cunningham mentions that Arah, which is only 6 miles from Masâr, is the scene of similar traditions concerning a local Asûr, called Bakâsûr; and I strongly suspect that the traditions concerning the *Bak-âsûr* of *Arah* may have been confounded with those concerning *Bâñâsur* of *Santipûr* and *Baiâna;* and that, in consequence, the traditional Santipûr came in time to be identified with Masâr, near Arah.

I think, therefore, that the account given in the *Ukha Charitra* is probably the correct one, and more to be depended upon than that given in the *Prem Sagar;* and that it was the Santipûr near Baiâna which was the real capital of Bâñâsur.

The name of Bâñâsur may recall to mind the somewhat similar name of Bhainsasur, which means the *buffalo-demon;* but which must not be confounded with that of Bâñâsur, which would apparently mean the *many-armed demon*, as, according to the traditions given in the *Prem Sagar* and *Ukha Charitra*, Siva had gifted Bâñâsur with a thousand arms, but all of his arms except four were cut off in battle by the discus or *sudarsan* of Krishna. On the other hand, Bhainsasur is in reality the same as Maheshasur, which is the common name for the *buffalo-demon*, as generally represented with the image of Durga during the Durga Puja.

On Mount Abu there is a sculpture, noticed by Tod, representing *Ar-pâl*, or *Adhi-pâl*, the great ancestor of the Pramâra race, in the act of shooting an arrow at Bhainsasur.[1] According to Tod, the Pramâra race was created especially to guard the sacred fire-fountain on Mount Abu, and Bhainsasur was killed by the guardian of the sacred fountain of fire, because he used to drink up the sacred water at that place.

[1] See Tod's *Travels in Western India,* page 89; and *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol. I, p. 214.

[illegible] PUBLIC LIBRARY.

The Sanskrit term *Âsúr* is said to be derived from the negative particle *a*, signifying *not* or *without*, prefixed to the word *súr*, which in this case means a *divinity* or *deity;* and therefore *a-súr* would literally mean *not divine*, or *anti-divine*, or *atheist*, or *infidel*, or *one without God*, or *against the gods*. I think, therefore, it is very probable that the term *a-súr*, in the sense of *atheist*, may have been used by the early dominant Brahmanical hierarchy to denote or stigmatise those who were not of *their* religion, or who opposed the attempts of the Brahmans to exert a universal power and domineering influence in everything, and denied their claims to superiority and supremacy. Now, at such an early period as that at which we may suppose Bâñâsur to have lived, those who were not of the Brahmanical creed, but opposed to the authority and doctrines of the Brahmans, could have been no other than the earliest professors of some very primitive form of the Buddhist religion; or, if they were not Buddhists, they must at least have been some primitive sect allied to the early Jainas,—that is, Jainas of the most ancient school which preceded that of Mahavira,—as the Jains assert that even Buddha himself was a disciple of Mahavira. There are many incidents and circumstances recorded in the ancient traditions of India which would lead us to believe that many of the kings and chiefs and leaders of the Lunar race, or *Chandravansis*, at times paid wonderfully little respect to the Brahman hierarchy, and seemed to have acted occasionally in rather a free-thinking manner, quite independent of the Brahmans.[1] It is, at any rate, pretty certain that the ancient representatives of the Lunar race were cooler towards, or paid less respect to, and were more independent of, the Brahmans, than those of the Solar race. It is also remarkable that the most powerful of the ancient Buddhist kings of India were mostly, or at least very many of them, of the Lunar race. Indeed, I have long been inclined to the belief that the majority of the Chandravansis, or Lunar race, were at one time either Buddhists or Jains, while the Solar race were probably mostly Brahmanists and Sun-worshippers. It would, moreover, appear from certain traditions, and from the symbols displayed on a certain class of coins found in considerable numbers in Upper and Western India,—particularly in Râjputâna,—that there must also have been some considerable

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[1] See, for instance, some remarks in connection with this subject in Mrs. Speir's *Life in Ancient India*.

portion of the population (more especially of the military and ruling classes) who were fire-worshippers; while others, again, were addicted to snake-worship or ophiolatry.

I have already suggested before that the name of Bâñâsur, the reputed founder of Baiâna, might be supposed to signify *the demon of many arms*, on account of the fable as to his having been gifted with a thousand arms by Siva. But the first syllable, *Ban*, may originally have been *Van*. Now, *Van Ásúr*, with the first vowel *á* long, might mean *the demon of the arrow;* while, with the *a* short, it would mean *the forest demon.* On the other hand, *Vana Súr*, with the first vowel *á* long, might either mean *the hero of the arrow* or *the arrow of the sun;* while, with the *a* short, it would mean *the hero of the forest*, or *the forest champion*—any one of which terms might have been used as the name or title of a king. For, supposing the country around Baiâna to have been at one time a great forest, such a title as *the forest hero* would be a fitting title for a king of the forest country. Such a supposition is somewhat borne out by the fact that in an inscription in the Kutila character which I discovered on a pillar in an old temple in Baiâna, I read two different names, probably of Rajas, both of which terminated with the syllable *Súri*. *Súri* may therefore have been a family name or title, and it may possibly be the same as the *sur* in the name of *Báñásur*.

On the other hand, if we could dare in any way to connect the name of Bâñâsur, the founder of Baiâna, with that of Bhainsasur, the buffalo-demon, then we would have the first syllable *Bhains*, or *Bains*, in particular to deal with. Now, we find a tribe of the Kshatrya race called *Bais*, who are now principally represented by the Bais Rajpûts of Baiswara, in Oudh, but who are also found in many other parts of India; as, for instance, in a part of the country not far from Baiâna, and in the neighbourhood of Agra and elsewhere in the Upper Provinces, and also further south. We also find traces of their existence, in ancient times, in Kanauj, at Bairât, and even in Mâlwa. The Bais Rajpûts trace their descent from a king called Sâlivâhana, whose capital is said to have been at Dundia Khèra, near the Ganges, in Oudh, who may be identifiable with the Sâlivâhana of the Yadu line of the Lunar race, who, with his father, was driven out of Gajipûr (now Rawal Pindi) by the Indo-Scythians, but who afterwards gained a victory over the Sakas (Indo-Scythians) at Kahror, near Multân,

about A. D. 78, and instituted the so-called Saka era: as the Bais Rajpûts also claim to be of the Lunar race through Sâlivâhana.[1] We may therefore consider the Bais Rajpûts as descendants of the Yadu line of the Lunar race. But the ancient Rajas of Baiâna and of Vijaymandar Garh, or Santipûr, are also asserted, in the local traditions, to have been of the Yadu line of the Lunar race. I have already pointed out Prahlâda, a king of Multân, as the supposed ancestor of Bâñâsur; and as we find *Sâlivâhan*, the supposed ancestor of the Bais tribe, defeating the Sakas (or Indo-Scythians) at Kahror near Multân, it looks as if the country around Multân had been an ancient heritage of the ancestors of both, and formed an historical connecting link between the two.

Now, if we acknowledge the existence of similarity between the names *Bâñâsur* and *Bhainsasur*, and if from either of the words *Bhaiñsasur* or *Bainsasur* we take away the termination *asûr*, we have the word *Bhains*, or *Bains*, left. And it is just possible that the latter may have been the real ancient name of the Bais tribe; for as the letter *ñ* in the word *Bhaiñs*, or *Baiñs*, is nasal, it would become very easily eliminated and lost, and therefore the term *Bhaiñs*, or *Baiñs*, would naturally become *Bhais*, or *Bais*, in the vulgar speech of the country; and as the name of a tribe, the memory of its connection with the word *Bhains*, as signifying *a buffalo*, would very soon be forgotten, until even the aspirate or letter *h* in the word would also in time become eliminated. But I have my own doubts as to whether the origin of the name of the Bais tribe could be in any way connected with either the name of the *buffalo-demon Bhainsasur*, or the common word *Bhains*, signifying *a buffalo;* and I believe that the name of the Bais tribe must have had some other signification.

But if Baiâna was founded by Bâñâsur, and if its ancient kings were descended from Bâñâsur, and if the race to which these kings belonged may be identified with some primitive branch of the Bais tribe, then how did the name of Bâñâsur and the name of Baiâna both come to lose the letter *s*? I can only suppose that Bainâsur, or Baisâsur, may, after all, possibly have been a vulgar spoken form of Bhainsâsûr, and that the original name of the Bais tribe may have been *Bhains-âsûra*, or *Bains-âsûra*, and that the

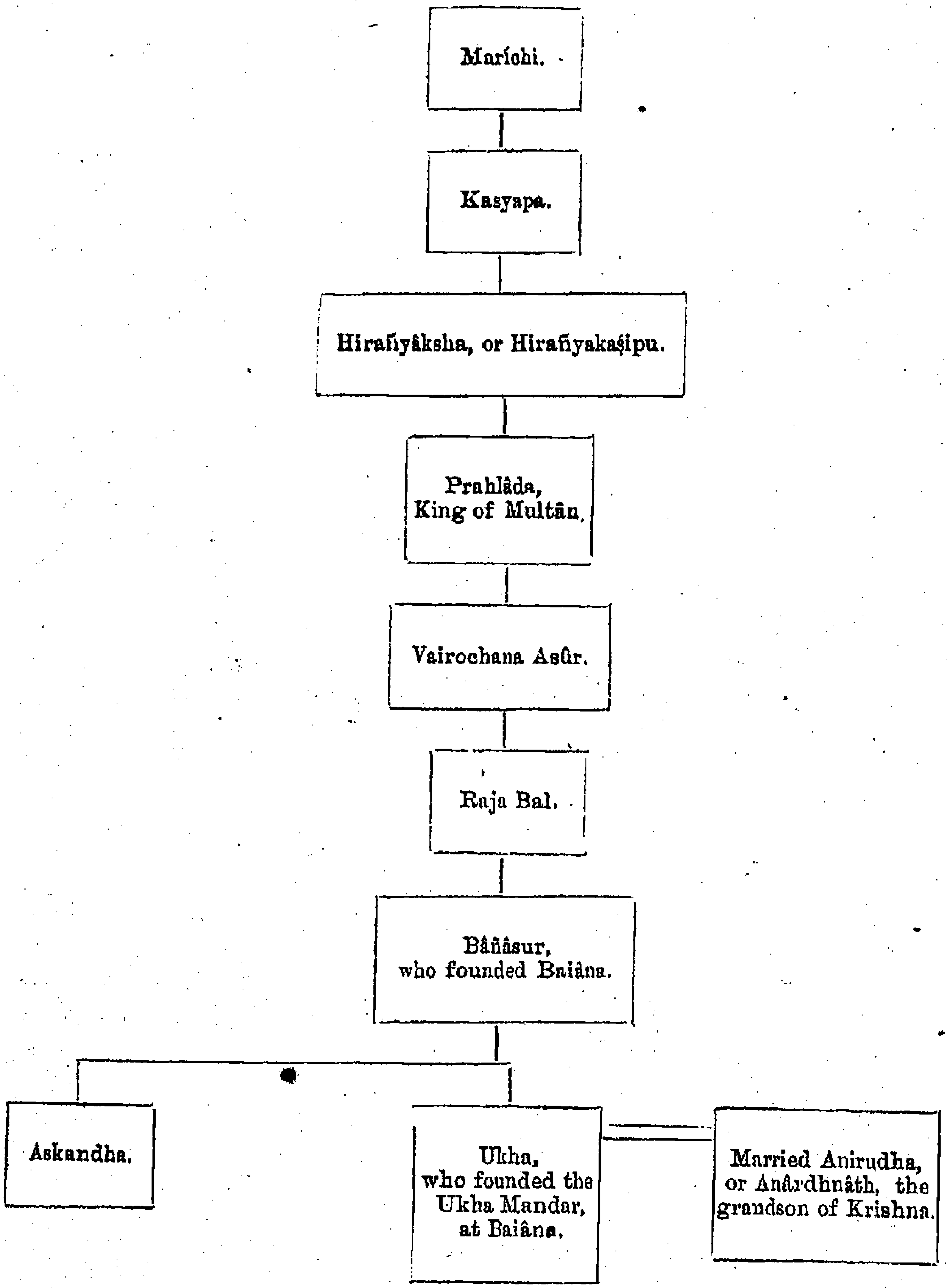
[1] See General Cunningham's Archæological Report for 1863-64, Vol. II, p. 21; and Vol. I, pp. 280 and 296, in the Report for 1862-63.

terminal qualifying term *asúr* was gradually dropped. And, in a similar manner, I would suggest that the present name of the town of Baiâna may be a corruption or contraction of Bhainsâna, or Bainsâna, which again might be a short or quickly spoken form of Bhains-âwaña, which would mean the *screen*, or *shelter*, or *enclosure*, of the *Bhains*, or *Bains*, or *Bais* tribe.

I would beg that the above suggestions and remarks concerning the origin of the ancient Rajas of Baiâna and Santipûr may be borne in mind by the reader when I come to speak of and describe the great and ancient fortress of Vijaymandar Garh, or Santipûr, separately, further on. For in that ancient fortress I found a tall stone *lât*, or monolith pillar, still standing and bearing an ancient inscription, dated 428, which recorded the name of a king called Vishnu Varddhana, and also the names of several of his ancestors. Now it must have been in the time of this ancient dynasty of kings that the fortress now called *Vijaymandar Garh*, or vulgarly *Bijagarh*, was called *Santipûr*. And, as I stated before, the ancient Rajas of Santipûr and Baiâna are asserted in the local traditions of the place to have been descended from Bâñâsur, the son of Raja Bali. I may here acknowledge that I had formerly decided in my own mind that this king Vishnu Varddhana of the *lât* inscription must have belonged to an ancient branch of the Bais tribe, as I believed (as before stated) that this term Bais might be a mere corruption of Bhains or Bains, and that the latter might have been a convenient contraction or abbreviation of Bhains-âsûra, or Bains-âsûra. But if Vishnu Varddhana was a descendant of Bâñâsur, the son of Raja Bali, and if the latter was a son of Vairochana Âsûr, and the grandson of Hiranyâksha or Hiranyakaṣipu, then, unless the traditions as to the origin of the Bais tribe are all false, the Vishnu Varddhana of the *lât* inscription could not have been of the Bais tribe.

I may now add that I have since made enquiries on this subject of some Brahmans in Agra, and they say that although the beautiful Ukha was the daughter of Bâñâsur, yet Bâñâsur was certainly an Asûr or Râkshas, and that he was the son of Raja Bal; and that Raja Bal was the son of Vairochana Asûr, who was the son of Prahlâda, king of Multân, who was the son of Hiranakus, who was a *Râkshas* with *antelope's horns*, who is the same as the Hirañyâksha, or Hirañyakaṣipu of the Hindu traditions, who was

destroyed by Vishnu under the form of *Nara Sinha*. And Hiranyâkksha or Hirañyakaşipu was the son of Kasyapa. We may therefore now be perfectly certain of the actual origin of the most ancient Rajas of Baiâna, and that they were a race of Asurâs. The following will therefore be the correct genealogy of Bâñâsur, the founder of Baiâna:—



Baiâna is situated near the banks of the Bânganga river, and the name of the Bânganga river is said to signify *the river of the arrow;* and this name is said to have originated from the fact that, while the Pandus were in exile at Bairat, one of them, Arjun, being in want of Ganges water, for purposes of purification, shot an arrow at the foot of a tree, from whence proceeded a branch of the sacred Ganga, or Ganges river, which was henceforth called *Vân-Ganga*, or *Bân-Ganga*,—that is, *the river of the arrow*. But I strongly suspect that the name of the Bânganga river must in reality be in some way connected with the name of Bâñâsur, and with that of Baiâna.

I have previously mentioned, in passing, that there is an ancient temple in Baiâna called the *Ukha Mandar*, which is said to have been built by a sister, but in reality a daughter, of Bâñâsur, named Ukha, who married Anardnath, or Anirudha, a grandson of Krishna. This temple is now in a ruinous condition, and had been considerably altered by the Muhammadans (Pathâns) when they held Baiâna, and who turned it into a mosque for their own use. In this ancient temple I dug up a stone with an inscription in the Kutila character at the foot of one of the pillars. This inscription was very much defaced, and the date almost entirely obliterated; but I could make out sufficient to learn that the inscription had been executed in the eleventh century, or about *Samvât* 1084 or 1089, equal to A. D. 1027 or 1032; and the style of the Kutila character in which the inscription is executed certainly prevailed at that period, and would exactly agree with the date above given. The inscription was in twenty-two lines, and the stone bearing it was 1 foot 8 inches in length, and 1 foot in breadth. Great portions of several of the lines of the inscription were so defaced and obliterated that it was quite impossible to make any complete reading of it that could be at all satisfactory. The name of Santipûr, however, appeared to be mentioned at least once (if not twice) in the inscription.

The dimensions and other details of the *Ukha Mandar* are as follow: Length of the building, 120 feet 9 inches; breadth, 85 feet; forming an oblong square enclosure.[1] The walls are 4 feet 6 inches in thickness. At the centre of the back of the temple, exteriorly, there is a small projection, 6 feet 5 inches in length, which protrudes 1 foot from the wall, which was probably added by the

[1] See Plate IV.

Muhammadans. The gateway is nearly 14 feet in breadth. A long flight of stone stairs proceeds from each side of the gateway interiorly, ascending to the top of the building. There is also a narrow entrance way in the centre of each side of the temple. The interior of the temple contains no less than ninety-two tall columns, each about 14 feet in height; but their bases are mostly hidden in the earth. These pillars are arranged as follow: There are two rows of octagonal twelve-cornered pillars along the left side of the temple interiorly, fifteen in each row, or thirty altogether; and there are two rows of circular or cylindrical-shaped pillars along the right side of the temple, and of the same number as those on the left side, or thirty in all. Then, at the further end of the temple, there are four rows of circular pillars, five in each row. Lastly, around the interior of the gateway, but at a little distance from it, there are three sides of a square formed by twelve pillars, of which five on the left side are octagonal twelve-cornered pillars, and five on the right side are circular pillars; and two larger pillars immediately facing the gateway, interiorly, are also circular. The octagonal twelve-cornered pillars on the left side of the temple are plain, and the capitals are of the same configuration as the pillar, simply spreading out at top in step fashion. It was at the foot of the ninth pillar of the inner row on this side, counting from the entrance, that I dug up the stone with the Kutila inscription of the eleventh century. The circular pillars along the right side of the temple and at the further end, and also on the right side of the interior of the gateway, are ornamented with five narrow bands of floral sculpture. The capitals of these pillars simply spread out at top in five successive rings.

Outside the temple, at a distance of 31 feet from the right-hand corner as one enters, there are the remains of a large Muhammadan minar in an unfinished state. It had apparently been left unfinished by the builders, and it never even reached the top of the first storey. The present height of the building is only 39 feet 6 inches, the circumference at base is 84 feet 7 inches, and the diameter 28 feet 2 inches. The diameter at top is 25 feet 9 inches. The doorway is raised 3 feet 8 inches from the ground. There is a defaced inscription over the doorway, of which I had not an opportunity of taking an impression; but it did not seem to be of much importance.

There is another old temple at Baiâna, the name of which I was unable to ascertain, but which had also been altered

into a masjid by the Muhammadans. But in this temple, on a half pillar on the left-hand side near the entrance, I found a pretty perfect Kutila inscription, in eighteen lines, dated *Samvât 1100*, in the month of *Bhâdrapada*, and apparently, as far as I could make out, in the reign of *Śri Vijayâdhi-râja Śri Śri Papâyâñsuri* (or *Paghâyâñsuri ?*). The entire passage reads as follows: *Rajyè Śri Vijayâdhi-râja nṛi-pate: Śri Śri Papâyâñsuri* (or *Paghâyâñsuri ?*); and this inscription appears further to state that he was *moon-produced*, or of the Lunar race, and a second Krishna *Somas-datâ Krishnadwitiyâ*. The names of two or three other rajas are also apparently given. Among these there occurs *one* title, in particular, in the fourth line, which I read as *Srûta Śri Mansûri Maheswwar* (the renowned, fortunate *Mansûri*, the great lord); and another name in the second line of the inscription reads as *Śri Vishnu Sûryâsano*. As the term *Sûri* occurs at least twice, or as the termination of at least two different names or titles, and the term *Sûryâ* occurs once, as part of a name, *Suri*, or *Sûrya*, would appear to be a family name, or the name of a tribe. This may perhaps throw some light on the name of Bâñâsur, which may thus, after all, be a mere corruption of Vana-sûri.

From the general tenor of the above inscription, I think the following short genealogy may perhaps be made out with some diffidence :—

Sri Vishnu Sûryâsano.	(A. D. 970 ?)
Sri Nabkâmyaka, or Mat-kâmyaka ?	(A. D. 995 ?)
Sri Mansûri Maheswar.	(A. D. 1020
Sri Vijayâdhi-râja nṛipatè. Sri Sri Paghâyâñsuri.	Samvât 1100. A. D. 1043.

I am in doubt as to whether the long string of titles last mentioned refer to one or to two individuals; but if they are simply the titles of one individual reigning at the time that the inscription was executed, then the first-named Raja,

Śri Vishnu Sûryâsano, must have reigned about A. D. 970, allowing about twenty-five years for each generation.

In the fifteenth line of the inscription above referred to, there is something about a *Nâga Râja;* but the ends of several of the lines are broken off, and some of the letters in the middle of the lines are too much defaced to be read with any certainty. A copy of the whole inscription is given in Plate VI.

The dimensions of this temple are 24 feet by 23 feet 1 inch, or nearly 24 feet square. It is only closed in on three sides, the fourth side being entirely open. The interior of the temple contains six detached pillars in the centre, and ten half pillars against the wall. The two back central pillars are partly round and partly octagonal, and the front pillars are round. The horizontal section of the side half pillars against the wall is in the form of a half of a cross. The four central pillars support a low, flat, step-shaped dome formed of slabs of stone, overlapping each other at the corners, according to the ancient Hindu fashion. The central and uppermost stone is ornamented by a beautifully sculptured circular flowered device. In the centre of the back wall of the temple interiorly, there is a rectangular recess, 3 feet 6 inches in width by 1 foot 3 inches in depth, which was made by the Muhammadans when they turned the temple into a mosque.

There are some curious, isolated, sharp-pointed, conical, rocky hills, quite detached from the Baiâna range, standing out in front of the town towards the west and north-west. On the top of one of these pinnacles a small whitewashed temple or shrine is perched, which appeared to be of modern construction.

I did not observe any other antiquities of particular interest about Baiâna itself. There are numerous Muhammadan tombs and some Hindu *satti* stones and *maths* in the neighbourhood, but none of them seemed to me to possess any very great interest, in an archæological point of view. Some notice of the remains of the Muhammadan occupation of Baiâna and its neighbourhood will be given in the course of the latter part of this report.

Before the time of the Lodis, Agra was a mere parganah under Baiâna, which was the real capital of the province. In fact, Baiâna may be considered to have been at that period a sort of secondary capital to Delhi. It was certainly a place of great consequence and importance.

8.—SANTIPÛR, VIJAYMANDAR GARH, OR BIJAGARH.

THE following account of this place will form, I believe, the most interesting and important portion of this report.

The nearest end of the great fortress of *Vijaymandar Garh* (vulgarly called *Bijamandar Garh,* or *Bijagarh*) is about 6 miles due west from Baiâna; but as the fortifications extend thence, from that point, westwards, for a distance of 7,527 feet, or nearly a mile and a half, the furthest end of the fortress must be 7 miles distant. This great extent of fortification, the various portions of which have been built at different periods, first originated from a nucleus consisting of a much smaller ancient fort which was originally built on a western projecting precipitous rocky spur of the great granitic range which extends for nearly 8 miles westwards from Baiâna, and also for a considerable distance north and north-westwards. But the fortifications now include two spurs of the range and extend across two valleys, and run along a portion of the heights beyond, to the north. These fortifications include portions which have been built successively at various periods,—first, by the Hindus, at some very ancient and remote period; secondly, by Hindus in the middle ages, just previous to the Muhammadan conquest; thirdly, by the Muhammadan Pathâns; and fourthly, by the Jâts, who now own the fort.

The ancient name of the original Hindu fortress was Santipûr, which is said to have been built by an ancient dynasty of kings, who were the descendants of Bâñâsur the son of Raja Bal. The fort appears either to have been renewed, or at least occupied, shortly after the commencement of the Christian era, by a Raja named *Vishnu Vardhana,* whose name I found in an ancient inscription on a stone *lât,* or monolith pillar, still standing in the fort. This inscription was dated in the year 428. If this date referred to the Samvat of Vikramaditya, it would be equivalent to A. D. 371; but if it referred to the Saka era, it would be equivalent to A. D. 506. Again, about the eleventh century, the fort appears to have been in the possession of a Raja named Bija Pâl, or Vijay Pâl, or Vijaya Pâla, who is said to have rebuilt and added to the fort. Vijay Pâl was of the Yadu line of the Lunar race, and he was the son of Andhu Pâl or Anand Pâl, who had two other sons, namely, *Tein Pâl* or *Tippen Pâl,* who is said to have founded Teingarh, near Khirauli, to the south; and *Rita Sinha,* or *Rit Pâl;*

or *Ratan Pâl*, who is said to have founded Ritawar to the north, about 6 miles to the west of Bhusawar; and they are said to have had a sister called Baijal or Bijal, who founded Baijalpûr, near Jagnèr, and who is said to have married Lakhan Sinh, or Lakshman Sinha, of Dhara, a descendant of Vir Vikramaditya of Ujjain. The Andhu Pâl, or Anand Pâl, of the Vijamandar Garh traditions might possibly be identifiable with a raja of that name who opposed Mahmûd of Ghazni in A. D. 1008. But if, as the local traditions would lead one to infer, the Andhu Pâl, or Anand Pâl, the father of Vijay Pâl, of Vijaymandar Garh, lived about the commencement or the middle of the eleventh century; or if he was the same who opposed Mahmûd of Ghazni in A. D. 1008, then it would be impossible that he could have had a daughter who married Lakshman Sinha of Mâlwa, who is supposed to have lived about A. D. 1144; and therefore the Baijal of the Jagnèr traditions must have been some later descendant of the family. Besides, according to the local traditions, Vijaymandar Garh is said to have been taken by Muhammadan invaders in Samvât 1173, equal to A. D. 1116; and therefore Vijay Pâl, the son of Andhu Pâl, must have lived before A. D. 1116. It was from Vijaya Pâl, the son of Andhu Pâl or Anand Pâl, that this great fort received its later name of Vijaymandar Garh, which name has become Bijagarh in the vulgar spoken language of the common people; but all the more intelligent people about Baiâna call the fort "Vijaymandar Garh," and the still more learned also know it by its ancient name of "Santipûr."

The fort of Vijaymandar Garh was probably in the possession of the family of *Vijay Pâl* when it was first taken by the early Muhammadan invaders. The date of the first capture of the fort of Vijaymandar Garh by the Muhammadans is somewhat uncertain. The following popular couplet, relating to the taking of the fort was repeated to me by some intelligent natives on the spot:—

> *"Gyareñ se tihatra, subh som dinbâr,*
> *Bijeh-mandar Garh toryañ Abubakr Qandhâr."*

"In the year 1113, early on a Monday morning, Vijaymandar Garh was crushed by Abubakr of Kandahar."

Now, in the above, we find it stated that the fort of Vijaymandar Garh was taken by the Muhammadans in the year 1173, but of what era is not said. We may, however,

suppose that the date given refers to the era most commonly in use among Hindus—namely, the *Samvat* of Vikramâditya. If that be the case, then *Samvât 1173* would be equivalent to A. D. 1116, which would be seventy-seven years before the taking of Delhi by the Muhammadans.[1] The Abubakr of Kandahâr, who is said to have taken the fort of Vijaymandar Garh, must therefore have been simply a general, or commander, of the army, who took the fort of Vijaymandar Garh, in the interest of some of the earlier Muhammadan invaders of India, who could have been no other than the Ghaznivides, who had already, in A. D. 1028, long previously taken Ajmèr; and in the year 1116 A. D. *Arslan* was King of Ghazni. The Lodis also appear to have held this fort, as I attribute to Sikandar Lodi the founding of an old, now deserted, Muhammadan town, called Sikandra, the site of which lies on the plain immediately below and to the south of the fort, and which will presently be described further on.

It is well known that *Sangrâma Sinha* of Mewar successfully resisted Bâbar, the first of the Mughals, at Kanûa, near Baiâna, in A. D. 1527; but in passing through Kanûa myself, on my return to Agra, I was surprised to find that it was situated about 20 miles distant to the east from Baiâna.

There are two Muhammadan inscriptions over the doorway of a very fine Muhammadan minar in the fort, in the upper one of which it is stated that the minar was built by Muhammad Shah; and as, in the lower inscription, it is stated that the minar was consecrated for use in A. H. 861, which would be in the time of Bahlol Lodi, it is plain that the Muhammad Shah above referred to as having founded the minar must have been Muhammad Shah bin Farid Shah, of the Sayid dynasty, who reigned between A. H. 839 and 849, or just fifteen years before the accession of Bahlol Lodi.[2]

I must now give a description of the fort of Vijaymandar Garh, and of anything of interest which it still contains. I have already stated that the whole extent of the fortifications is 7,527 feet, or about a mile and a half, from east to west. To this I may add that from a wall on the

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[1] *Note by General Cunningham.*—According to Forishta (Briggs, I, 179—195) Bayâna was taken by Muhammad Ghori and Kutbuddin Aibek in A. H. 592=A. D. 1195, which is equivalent to 1278 of the Saka era. It seems probable, therefore, that the date of the couplet is just one hundred years too early—an amount of error which is found in most of the written records about the time of the Muhammadan conquest.—A. C.

[2] See Plate VII for a sketch of this minar.

crest of a precipice to the south, to a wall along the heights to the north, the distance is about 3,360 feet; so that this must have been the most extensive fortification in India, with the exception of Chitor.[1] But this includes several different lines and enclosures of fortifications, which, although connected with one another, have been added at various times by the successive possessors of the fortress.

The fortifications, as I before stated, are situated on two lofty rocky spurs, or projections, which run out east and west respectively at the south-western extremity of the great granitic range of precipitous heights which extend for about 8 miles to the west of Baiâna. The fortifications also extend for a considerable distance along a ridge of the heights to the north. The height of the range here cannot be less than 600 feet from the plain, if not, in some places, even more. On the narrow spur which runs out to a point westwards is situated a sort of inner fort or fortified enclosure, somewhat divided off from the rest, which represents the real ancient fort which was the original nucleus of the whole. This latter may, for convenience sake, be called the inner fort or citadel; but it is this portion which occupies the actual site of the ancient fortress of Santipûr of the time of *Vishnu Varddhana*, and which was renewed or repaired by Vijay Pâl, who gave to it the new name of Vijaymandar Garh. This separate part of the fortifications, constituting a fort in itself, is about 2,140 feet in length from east to west, by from 600 to 700 feet in breadth from north to south. It is divided off from another larger fortified enclosure, which lies to the east of the former, by a strong fortification wall, and also partly by a deep gorge which cuts in from the south, and by another lesser gorge, or indentation, which runs in a little way from the north. There is an upper gateway at the south-eastern corner of this old fort, and a causeway runs down from it into the southern dividing gorge before referred to, which has a fortification wall running across the mouth of it, and which thus shuts it in, leaving simply a narrow passage below, forming a lower gateway, for ingress and egress. There is a second upper gateway at the north-western extremity of the fort, where it runs westwards into a narrow point, and where it becomes not more than about 131 feet in breadth. Within this gate, and about 150 feet to the eastwards of it,

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[1] The fortress of Gwalior is 2 miles in length.—A. C.

where the fort commences to widen out, there is an inner gateway, which leads directly into the main body of the fort. These are the only gateways proper to this old fort. On entering by the inner gateway from the west, one is met by a wall facing one, which is the remains of an old enclosure containing buildings. On turning to the right towards the south, in order to pass round it, one meets with the remains of the abutments of an ancient ruined inner gateway, placed obliquely, and not at all in correspondence with the present inner gateway, and which I believe to have been an ancient inner gateway of the original fort. Passing thence eastwards along the remains of the southern wall of the old enclosure, which at first opposed one, one sees to the left an old building entered by a gateway, and surmounted by four low domes. Passing through this, one enters a small court, with another small court beyond it containing some old low buildings, or chambers, used as dwellings. This place appeared to be occupied by a sort of Hindu *jogi*, or *pujâri*, when I visited the fort, who seemed to use part of the building as a temple. To the north of these buildings, in the north-western angle of an inner portion of the enclosure, there is an isolated circular bastion, which was constructed by the Jâts, to command the gateway, and on which there is an old cannon lying, of large calibre. Continuing to the east of this, there is the remains of a large inner enclosure, originally about 440 feet in length by about 140 feet in breadth. There are the ruins of three small buildings within this space. About 80 feet to the north of this, and outside of the enclosure, there are the traces of another ancient wall running for some distance east and west. To the south of the enclosure again, and parallel to it, at the distance of 11 feet from it, there are the remains of a wall running in the same direction. Again, at a somewhat greater distance to the south of the last, there are traces of another wall running in an oblique direction. Lastly, at the distance of about 100 feet in a southern direction, one comes upon the outer fortification wall of the fort, running along the very verge of the precipice eastwards and westwards. Fifty-eight feet to the east of one of the bastions, on the southern wall, there are the remains of an old building, 41 feet in length, adjoining the outer fortification wall. Again, 250 feet to the east of the latter, and at the inner angle or corner of a curved outward projection of the fortification wall, there is a building 38 feet in length. Lastly, about 250 feet to the east of the last-mentioned

building, one sees before one the tapering *lât*, or monolith pillar, of Vishnu Varddhana, rising from a high stone platform. The platform on which the *lât* stands, or rather in which it is fixed upright, is situated close to the southern outer wall of the fort, which overhangs the brink of the precipice. This stone platform is about 10 feet 5 inches in height, by about 10 feet square at the base, and about 9 feet square at the top. It is built of stones of a lightish or greyish colour, and of the same kind as those which form the walls of the fort. The *lât* is a monolith hewn out of a single block of red sandstone. It is fixed in the centre of the platform, and rises to the height of 26 feet 3 inches above the upper surface of the platform. Its whole height, therefore, including the lower concealed part of it which is built into the stone platform, would probably be at least above 30 feet, or perhaps even 35 feet; for, including the platform, the whole measures exactly 36 feet 8 inches from the ground. The base above the platform is square to the height of 3 feet 8 inches, and each side measures 1 foot 6 inches. The upper corners of the square base of the *lât* are bevelled off. Above this point the *lât* narrows, and becomes octagonal, to the height of 22 feet 7 inches, and tapers off gently upwards towards the top. Its top has been broken off obliquely, in a ragged manner, and a metal spike rises out of the centre of the fractured top, which shows that the monolith was once surmounted by a capital. In its present appearance, the *lât* most resembles a tapering octagonal obelisk, with a square base. On the southern face of the square base there is a comparatively modern Nâgari inscription of three lines, which was apparently executed by some *jogi*. It reads as श्री येागी ब्रह्म सागर—"*Sri Yôgi Brahma Sâgar*,"—the third line being defaced.

On the long southern octagonal face of the *lât*, which rises immediately above this, there commences the first line of the ancient inscription of Vishnu Varddhana which runs vertically up the pillar, and is read from the bottom upwards. On the second face, to the left of that, is the second line of the inscription; on the third face, to the left and facing the west, is the third line of the inscription; and on the fourth face, to the left of that and facing the north-west, there is the fourth and last, and longest line of the inscription, which thus consists of four vertical lines in all. The other four faces of the octagonal part of the pillar are blank.

The following transcript and translation are due to the kindness of Dr. G. Bühler:[1]

LINE.

1. Siddham kriteshu chaturshu varshaṣateshvashṭâ viṁṣeshu, 428.
2. Phâlguṇa bahulasya panchâdaṣṣyâm etasyâm pûrvvâyâm.
3. Kritan puṇḍarîke yûpoyam pratishṭhâssup pratishṭhita râjya-nâmadheyena *Vishṇu Varddhanena* Varîkinâ *Yaṣo Varddhana* sat puttreṇa *Yaṣorâta* sat pauttreṇa *Vyâghrarita* sat prapauttreṇa.
4. Ṣri Yâjnâvarmma[2] ṣṣreyobbhyudaya yaṣaskula vaṁṣa bhâga bhogâbhi vṛiddhaye, siddhirastu, pushṭirastu, sântirastu, jîva puttravaṁâstu[3] ashṭa kâmavâptir[4] astu srâddhâ chittesya bhâmi kâryo.

TRANSLATION.

"Success! After four hundred and twenty-eight years (428) had passed, on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Phâlguṇa, this sacrificial pillar has been placed in memory of that former performance, *viz.*, a *Puṇḍarîka* sacrifice, by the illustrious *Vishnu Varddhana Varîkin*, whose kingdom and name are far famed, the virtuous son of *Yaṣo Varddhana*, the virtuous grandson of *Yaṣarâta*, the virtuous great-grandson of *Vyâghrarâta*, for the increase of his prosperity, of the merit resulting from sacrifice, of his eternal welfare, of his fame, family, race, share, and enjoyments. May success attend (him), may increasing prosperity attend (him), may (his) sons remain alive, may the fulfilment of the eight kinds of desires attend (him). Have always faith" (? ?)

The style of the alphabetic characters displayed in this inscription is very peculiar, and different from anything which I have observed before; and, in fact, the letters are unlike any of the hitherto known forms of the ancient Sanskrit alphabetic character. Every letter is systematically bent in, at an acute angle, on the left side, which gives the inscription altogether a very peculiar appearance. The compound letters are also very curiously formed. I may say, generally, that the style of this alphabetic character appears to display a sort of link between the oldest form of the Gupta character, and that peculiar style which is known as the Narbada alphabetic character. Some of the letters also bear a certain resemblance to the characters of the so-called Sah inscription of Girnar.

I have already mentioned that the date of the inscription reads as 428; but as the era is not given in the inscrip-

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[1] I have substituted these for Mr. Carlleyle's tentative readings.—*A. Cunningham.*

[2] Read *dharmma.*

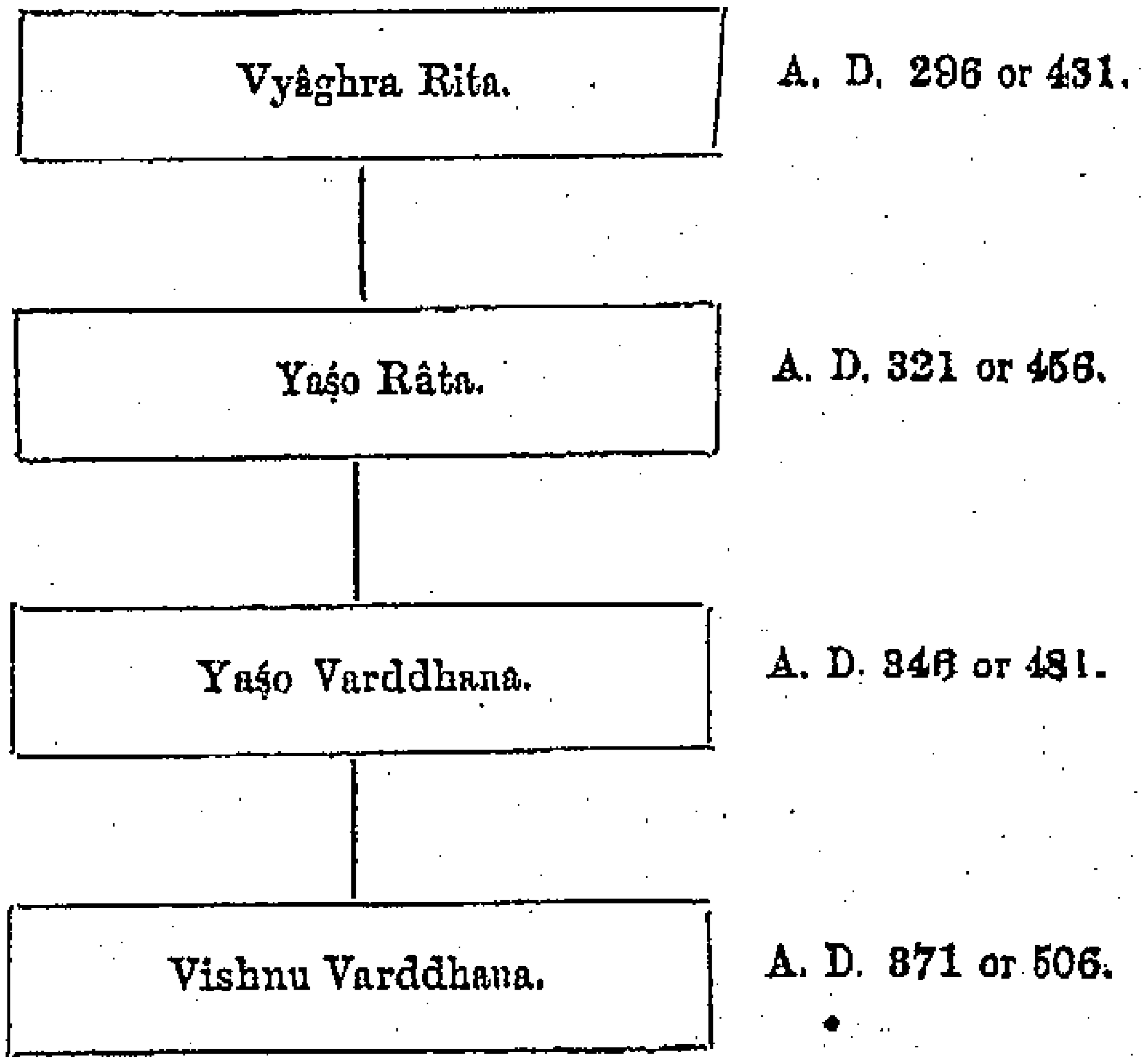
[3] Read *astu.*

[4] Read sraddhâ chitte $\frac{\text{sada (?)}}{\text{astu (?)}}$ kâryâ.

tion, it becomes a question as to what era this date of 428 should be referred. I at first referred the date to the Samvat of Vikramaditya, which would make the date equivalent to A. D. 371, which, indeed, I thought quite late enough for the ancient style of the characters in the inscription. But General Cunningham has since referred the date to the Saka era of Sâlivâhana, which commences in A. D. 78 to 79, and which would make the date equivalent to A. D. 506; and General Cunningham therefore expressed an opinion that Vishnu Varddhana must have been a contemporary of Vikramâditya of Ujjain.[1]

Besides the name of Vishnu Varddhana, the names of three of his ancestors are also mentioned,—namely, Yaşo Varddhana, Yaşo Râta, and Vyâghra Rita. Counting back at the rate of about twenty-five years for a generation, the last-named individual, who is thus the earliest known ancestor of Vishnu Varddhana, may be supposed to have lived either about A. D. 296 or A. D. 431, according as the Vikrama Samvat or the Saka era is used.

The following short genealogical tree gives the names and approximate dates of the family: —



I have previously stated that I had, for certain reasons, come to the conclusion that Vishnu Varddhana may have belonged to some early branch of the Bais tribe, and certainly the names of Vishnu Varddhana, and of his father, Yaşo Varddhana, were likely to recall to one's mind the name of Harsha Varddhana, the great Bais King of

[1] That is the later Vikramâditya at whose court Varâha Mihira resided.—*A. Cunningham.*

Kanauj, who reigned from A. D. 607 to A. D. 650. I also conjectured that the Vishnu Varddhana of my Vijay-mandar Garh *lât* inscription might possibly have been an ancestor of Harsha Varddhana. I may now mention that General Cunningham, after some consideration, had concurred with me in attributing the Vishnu Varddhana of the *lât* inscription to the Bais tribe. In the course of some correspondence, General Cunningham made the following remarks on this subject:—

* * * "The present Bais Rajpûts claim descent from Sâlivâhan, and there are Bais Rajpûts now living about Agra. I think that you are probably right in making your Baiâna Vishnu Varddhana a Bais, and I should be inclined to trace the name of Bâiâna to the Bais tribe."

The conclusions of General Cunningham above quoted, that if Vishnu Varddhana was of the Bais tribe (as I at first suggested), that he was probably a contemporary of Vikramâditya of Mâlwa, are very plausible indeed; and one might be satisfied to follow out the clue which he has indicated, if it were not that the local traditions of Baiâna and its neighbourhood expressly state that the ancient kings, or rajas, of Baiâna and Santipûr were descended from Bâṇâsur, the founder of Baiâna. And as Vishnu Varddhana was certainly one of the said ancient kings of Santipûr and Baiâna, if there is any truth in these local traditions, one is naturally driven to the conclusion that Vishnu Varddhana himself must have been descended from Bâṇâsur! But if Vishnu Varddhana was descended from Bâṇâsur, who appears to have been a descendant of Kasyapa of the Solar race, I do not see how Vishnu Varddhana could have belonged to the Bais tribe, who claim to be descended from Sâlivâhana of the Lunar race,—unless, indeed, any reason could be shown for believing that the whole Bais tribe, including their reputed ancestor Sâlivâhana, were also all descended from Bâṇâsur. But this might be rather a startling conclusion to some people, and one at which some might be inclined to cavil and demur. For I have already stated that Bâṇâsur is said to have been a demon-king, or one of the *Âsûrs;* and that he was the son of *Raja Bal,* who was the son of *Vairochana Âsûr,* who was the son of *Prahlâda,* King of Multân, who was the son of the demon-king *Hiranyâksha,* who was the son of *Kasyapa.*

But we must at the same time remember that the whole race of Asûras are said to have been descended from Kasyapa, of the Solar race, by his wife *Diti,* the daughter of *Daksha;*

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while the very same Kasyapa was, by his wife *Kadru*, also the forefather of the whole Nâga or Serpent race. And therefore we may say that the so-called Asûrs were of a highly respectable parentage; for it seems that they were actually descended from the ancient Aryan patriarchs of the Hindu race, or that the Asûrs were, in fact, as much acknowledged Aryans as the rest of the genuine Hindu race, and belonged to one or other of the Aryan Hindu tribes. For we also know that there were other Asûrs, or demon-kings, of the Lunar race.

Again, we also know that Râvana, the so-called demon-king of Lanka, was the son of a *muni*, or sage, or holy man, called Vishvarawa, by his wife Nikaksha, but who had also married Brabira, the daughter of Trinavindhu of the Solar race.

Our Asûrs, or demon-kings, of the Baiâna traditions,—namely, Bâṇâsur, Vairochana Asûr, and Hiranyâksha or Hiranyakaṣipu,—were therefore descended from an acknowledged highly respectable ancestry; and therefore even Bâṇâsur himself might have been the progenitor of a highly respectable progeny, and consequently, if it were possible, he might have been the true original great ancestor of the Bais tribe, and the originator of their peculiar name, if it were not that the Bais tribe claim to be of the Lunar race through Sâlivâhana, while Bâṇâsur would appear to have been a descendant of one of the patriarchs of the solar race,—namely, of Kasyapa, the son of Marichi,—which, of course, makes any such supposition as the above totally impossible.

At the same time, I must state that it is my own private belief that the ascription of a demon character or demoniacal attributes to certain historic individuals, or to certain probably really plain human personages whose memory is preserved in Indian traditions, or to certain of the ancient tribes of India, was simply a cunningly designed piece of malicious spite on the part of the old Brahman hierarchy, in order to stigmatise and cast odium upon certain individuals who denied or refused to recognise the self-assumed universal superiority and supremacy of the Brahman hierarchy; that the individuals thus stigmatised by the Brahmans probably differed from the latter in religious belief, and disregarded the peculiar rites and ceremonies and sacrifices which the Brahmanical hierarchy had instituted and set up to be observed; and that the Brahmans thus sought to damn and render odious the whole race, and even the very descendants of such persons, for ever.

I believe that if the now well-known Hindu reformer, Bâbû Keshab Chandra Sen, had lived in ancient times, and had happened to have been a ruler or leader of the people, that the tyrannical and narrow-minded Brahman hierarchy of those days would have conceived such hatred against his free and independent principles, and anti-orthodox or heterodox views, that they would have handed down his name to posterity as an Asûr,—that is, â-sûr, or an atheist, or infidel, or apostate, as I have before explained the word according to the supposed etymology of the term, from the Sanskrit negative particle *a*, signifying *not*, or *without;* and *sûr*, a *divinity*.

I believe, therefore, that we shall never arrive at a true knowledge or understanding as to the real origin of the various races, tribes and castes, and other arbitrary divisions, of the so-called Hindu population of India, until we have learnt entirely to disregard, and have schooled our minds to forget and for ever to discard, with suspicion and contempt, all the now commonly quoted fables or fabulous traditions whatsoever which have hitherto been current concerning the origin of each particular tribe and caste in this country, as I believe them to have been wholly concocted and invented, or, at least, totally garbled and perverted, by the Brahman hierarchy of former days, for their own interests, and for their own designing ends and purposes.

I myself do not believe in the origin generally ascribed to the various castes of India, and far less can I believe in the origin popularly ascribed to the various tribes of Rajpûts, or so-called Kshatryas of India. I may possibly have more to say on this subject at some future time, if opportunity be allowed me.

I must now again return to the description of the fort of Vijaymandar Garh, or Santipûr, and of the few buildings or other objects remaining that may be worthy of remark here.

About 40 feet to the east of the *lât* of Vishnu Varddhana, there is a large pile of building 100 feet in length from north to south, and 66 feet in breadth from east to west. About 135 or 136 feet to the north-north-west from the *lât* there are the ruined remains of an old Hindu temple, containing eighteen plain pillars, which had been turned into a mosque by the Muhammadans during their occupation of the place. The present dimensions of the remains of this building, as now standing, are about 64 feet 6 inches from north to south,

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by about 33 feet from east to west. But there are also the remains of the foundations of a large enclosure forming the front of the temple on the east side, which must have been about 80 feet from north to south by about 56 feet from east to west, and which had apparently been entered by a four-pillared portico from the east. A Muhammadan minar, which I am now about to describe, stands exactly 16 feet from the north-eastern corner of the traces of the foundation of the wall of this latter building, or nearly obliterated front enclosure, and about 91 feet from the remains of the old pillared building now standing at the back.

A short distance from the north-eastern corner of this old building there stands a very fine and massively built Muhammadan minar, which, as I before stated, would appear, from an inscription over the doorway, to have been built by Dâüd Khan in the time of Muhammad Shah. The construction of this minar is peculiar, from the fact that the sides of it bulge outwardly with a gentle curve, and that the upper storey is ornamented about the middle by a coloured band of green and blue squares, which I should suppose must be composed of coloured glazed tiles built into the wall. But it was, of course, impossible to get at this coloured band at such a height in order to examine it closely. This minar is built of red sandstone. Its present height is 74 feet, and it has now only two storeys; but the height of the minar was formerly much greater, and it was originally surmounted by a third storey, which was knocked down by an explosion of gunpowder in an old powder magazine which was situated to the north-west of the minar, during some siege of the fort, probably by the Jâts, when they took it. Now, as the lower storey of the minar is 42 feet 3 inches and the upper storey 31 feet 9 inches in height, and as the lost third storey probably bore the same ratio to the second storey that the latter does to the lower storey, I believe that the lost third uppermost storey of the minar, which was destroyed, must have been about 23 feet 10 inches in height, which would make the entire original height of the minar to have been 97 feet 10 inches or 98 feet; but if the summit of the minar was surmounted by any cupola, or dome, or pinnacle, as a finish to the top of it, it must have been upwards of 100 feet in its full height altogether when perfect. The diameter and circumference of the minar is very considerable for its height, as the circumference at the base near the ground is 75 feet 2 inches, which is 1 foot 2 inches greater than its present height. The

circumference of the second storey, at its base above the first gallery, or balcony, is 56 feet. The minar stands upon a narrow plinth, which raises it a little from the ground; and in this particular it differs from any other Muhammadan minar which I have seen. The doorway has a flat architrave, but this architrave is surmounted by a pointedly arched recess above, into which is built a semi-circular stone, bearing an inscription, in the Kufic character, in four lines. The height of the actual doorway, from the door step to the architrave, is only 5 feet,—the architrave being 6 inches in breadth, and the height to the top of the arched recess above the doorway is 7 feet 5 inches. The width of the doorway between the jambs is 2 feet 3 inches. There is an inscription on the architrave, and also on the right jamb of the doorway; and there was probably formerly also another inscription on the left jamb, but it has been broken away. The upper inscription, in the arched recess above the doorway, states that the minar was founded or built by Dâüd Khan in the reign of Muhammad Shah; while in the lower inscription, on the cross stone of the architrave of the doorway, it states that the minar was consecrated for use (as a mâzinah) in the year A. H. 861, which must have been during the reign of Bahlol Lodi, who reigned between A. H. 854 and 893. As, therefore, the minar must have taken some time to build, before it was consecrated for use as a mâzinah, it is plain that the Muhammad Shah referred to as the founder of the minar must have lived before A. H. 861. This king, therefore, could have been no other than Muhammad Shah bin Farid Shah, of the Sayad dynasty, who reigned between A. H. 839 and 849, or between 15 and 20 years before Bahlol Lodi. As the founding of the old deserted and ruined Muhammadan city of Sikandra, the razed site of which lies down below on the plain to the south of the fort, is attributed to Sikandar bin Bahlol, I think that the above attribution of the founding of the minar to Muhammad Shah bin Farid Shah and its consecration for use as a mâzinah to the times of Bahlol Lodi is exceedingly likely to be correct.

The following are copies and translations of the only important portions of the two inscriptions over the doorway.

Inscription in the arched recess above the doorway:

" بعده بنا المناره في عمل السلطان العظيم الجلال ناصر الدنيا والدين في ظل الله
العالمين محمد شاه ظل الله اكبر مسند عالي منها داؤد خان ابن خان المرحوم
المغفور محمد خان "

This may be translated as follows:—

"After praise. This minaret was built during the reign of the great illustrious king, the keeper of the world and religion (may God's shadow be upon him), Muhammad Shah (may God prosper him) whose throne is revered,—by Dâud Khan, son of the late Muhammad Khan, (may God forgive him)."

The remainder of the inscription consists simply of quotations from the *Quran*.

Inscription on the cross stone of the architrave of the doorway:—

انا ربنا هذه المنارة المبارکة الله تعالی في محرم العالی العاظم منها داؤد خان
بالاحدي خلده اکبر في سنة احدي ويثن وثما نماية ؛

Which may be translated as follows:—

"Our father?—We consecrate this holy Minar, which was built by Dâud Khan for God's worship, to the service of God, in the great month of Moharram, in the year 861."

There is a band of white stone round the minar, at the height of about 18 feet 6 inches from the base of the lower storey. This band, I presume to be composed of white marble. At the height of about 8 and 9 feet above the white band, there is a small opening, or window, for letting the light into the spiral stair which ascends to the top of the minar. The top of this small slit-window is in the form of a pointed horse-shoe arch. Immediately underneath the first balcony, there is a row of small slit-holes for letting the light in. Immediately below these, there are three bands encircling the minar. The centre one of these three bands is composed of an inscription of a single line, in the Kufic character, which appeared to me to consist of religious sentences. Above and below this central inscribed band, there is an ornamental bead band, composed of little round discs, or knobs in relief. The first gallery or balcony spreads out from the minar in the following successive graduated forms. First, there is a *cyma* or *ogee* shaped extension. Then there is an extension composed of a series of ribs of projecting stone, running upwards and slanting outwards. Above that, there is an extension composed of a series of ribs, also running upwards and slanting outwards, each formed of three successive corbel steps, each one projecting outwardly beyond and above the other. Above this, are the balustrade battlements of the balcony. The balustrade is formed of a series of battlement stones, which are all of the same size, and fitting close together, in an upright position,

side by side; and which are each sculptured on their outer face, in the same manner. They are ornamented outwardly with a representation of a small pointed arch, with the sides of it formed into three floral curves. In each corner of the upper curve of the arch, there is a little round or disc-shaped ornament. The edges of the stone are ornamented by a series of square compartments, each filled by a lozenge-shaped ornament. There is a plain arched doorway 6 feet 2 inches in height, and 2 feet 7 inches in breadth, which leads on to the balcony. About 10 or 11 feet above the balcony there is a band of yellow stone, which I presume to be a kind of yellow sandstone, edged by a dark line of demarcation. Immediately above this there is a band of green and blue squares, alternately, which I suppose to be composed of coloured glazed tile work, let into the wall; but it was, of course, impossible to get at it, at such a height, in order to ascertain the nature or composition of this coloured band. Immediately above this there is another yellowish-coloured band. About 10 feet above the latter there is a narrow dark-coloured band, and above this, there is a white band (probably of white marble) containing an inscription, in the Kufic character, of a single line. Above this there is another narrow dark band. Above this, again, there is a narrow red band; and above the latter there is a broad yellowish-coloured band, containing four lines of inscription, which was too high up for me to read without a glass, which I had not. The last band is near the top of the minar. Above the last-mentioned yellowish-coloured band, with the four lines of inscription, the stone is red, like the rest of the minar, up to the summit. On the summit of the minar there are still the broken, shattered and jagged remains of what was once a second upper balcony.

About 170 feet to the west-north-west from the minar, there is a large ruined building, which measured about 130 feet from north to south, by about 105 feet from east to west towards the southern part of the building, but the width contracts to only 95 feet towards the northern part of the building. That part of the building which is towards the north contains a double row of columns, 13 pillars in each row, or 26 in all. What was the original purpose of this building, I cannot tell; it may either have been a hall of audience, or a temple,—but it is said to have been used in later times as a powder magazine. It was at the back of

this building, and against the southern wall of it, that the powder magazine was situated, by the explosion of which the top of the Muhammadan minar was knocked down. As I found that this building was surrounded at a little distance off by the traces of a wall, forming a large rectangular figure, I came to the conclusion that the building was once surrounded by a large enclosure which must apparently have been about either 300 or 330 feet in length from north to south, by about 170 feet in breadth from east to west. To the south of this, there are the faint traces of another walled enclosure, about 135 feet in length from east to west, by 70 feet in breadth from north to south. About 120 feet to the north-west of the pillared building above described, there is a curious, narrow, long-shaped building running east and west, which is about 143 feet in length from east to west, by about 35 feet in breadth from north to south, and containing seven massive square pillars of masonry. A short distance to the left, or west, of this building, there are the remains of two small buildings, which are close to the northern outer wall of the fort, which here runs along the edge of a steep declivity, which runs down into a deep valley or gorge, which runs in from the west, eastwards, at the northern side of the fort, and thus cuts it off entirely from the high grounds which rise again to the north, which are crowned by a long fortification wall built by the Jâts. At that point in the fort which we last left, about the centre of the northern wall of it, from a curved angle which is defended by a double wall, a flight of steps leads down into an oval-shaped enclosure, containing a large well, and which is defended by a fortification wall. There is a modern inscription at this well, both in the Nagari and Muhammadan characters.

Towards the south-eastern part of the area of the fort there is a large modern building, which was built by the Jât Raja Randhir Singh. About the centre of the eastern extremity of the fort, near the lofty fortification wall which divides it from the outer fort, there are a few ruins of buildings.

There is nothing further that I know of worthy of description in this fort.

From the narrow western extremity of the fort, a wall runs out along a narrow lower ridge nearly due westwards for about 1,000 feet. The wall then turns nearly due north for about 250 feet.

This fortification wall was probably originally built by the Muhammadans, and repaired and renewed by the Jâts.

From the last point, two different fortification walls run in opposite directions. One of these walls runs in a north-easterly direction for about 760 feet, and then turns and runs in an easterly direction for about 820 feet. The wall then turns nearly due southwards and returns up the declivity towards the fort for about 570 feet, until it meets and joins on to the north-western bastion of the fort. Towards the southern end of the last-named portion of the wall, there is a lower gateway, from which a zigzag causeway leads up to the upper north-western outer gateway of the fort. This outer and lower line of fortification wall, which I have just described, into which the lower gateway leads, embraces an area, surrounded by a fortification wall, of about 1,500 feet at the broadest part from east to west, by about 850 feet from north to south. I believe the lower fortifications which enclose this space to have been originally built by the Muhammadans, although since repaired by the Jâts.

Outside of and beyond the eastern, and a portion of the northern face, of this fortified enclosure, there are the traces of the foundations of an ancient wall, which I believe to be the remains of one built by the ancient Hindu Rajas of Vijaymandar Garh.

I must now return to the other fortification wall, which runs from the outer point from which we at first started, and from which the fortification wall, just described, also runs. This other second wall runs across the mouth or entrance to the north-western valley or gorge (which runs in from the west to the back of the fort) for about 600 or 700 feet, until it meets the commencement of the slope at the foot of the opposite heights to the north. It then runs for a short distance further up the declivity of the slope. The total length of this wall, is probably about 1,000 feet, altogether, as the valley, the mouth of which it crosses, is about 1,000 feet broad, at this point, at its entrance. In the centre of this lower wall there is a gateway, which leads into the valley; within which, and a little more than 100 feet within the gateway, there is the commencement of the deserted street of a sort of bazar, (having houses on each side of it,) which was built by the Jâts. There are also a few totally dilapidated ruins of old buildings scattered throughout the valley. One old building, near the deserted

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bazar, appears to have been a temple, and shows the remains of somewhat elaborate sculpture on its walls. This building looked really old,—perhaps even ancient; but the other houses near it are modern. A little further on, in the valley, there are the remains of another old-looking building, of some size, in a ruinous state; and there are also the dilapidated ruins of a few small dwellings near it.

From this point, the valley, or gorge, runs eastwards between precipitous heights for about 4,000 feet more; but it contracts gradually eastwards, until it becomes at length a narrow, deep chasm between precipitous cliffs; and towards the latter end of it, another small, narrow, black-looking rocky chasm runs for a short distance northwards.

Immediately to the north, and in a line with the lower wall and the gateway, and at the mouth of the valley, one sees upon the heights above, towering over one's head, a bastion and portion of a fortification wall overhanging the very verge of the precipice. On ascending to the summits of these northern heights, the highest crests of which quite command the old fort across the valley, one finds an immense line of fortification, running northwards, and then eastwards. These fortifications were constructed by Randhir Singh, the Jât Raja of Bharatpûr. This fortification wall, on the summit of the northern heights, runs for about 1,200 feet northwards, ending in a ruined bastion, which was no doubt demolished in some siege. The wall then turns at an abrupt angle eastwards, and runs for about 2,530 feet in an easterly direction, until it comes to the head of a chasm which it crosses. From this point the wall runs for about 850 feet nearly north-eastwards, and then runs again for about 2,200 feet nearly due eastwards. From this latter point the wall turns abruptly southwards, at nearly a right angle, and runs in that direction for a little over 1,000 feet. It then runs south-south-westwards for 500 feet, and then south-eastwards for 400 feet, until it meets the wall of the outer or eastern fort of Vijaymandar Garh. The most south-eastern extremity of this last portion of wall crosses the head of a deep and precipitous gorge, which runs in from the eastwards. A beautiful little stream of cold water runs down this gorge, breaking into short falls and basin-like pools here and there, in which I saw swarms of little fish.

We have now come to the outer or eastern fort which extends eastwards from the old fort of Santipûr. This great fortified enclosure embraces an area of 4,500 feet,

from east to west, by about 1,900 feet, at the broadest part, from north to south.

That portion of the walls of this outer fort which runs towards the back and west is mostly built of loose stones without mortar. Some parts of them appeared to be old, and were in a considerably dilapidated condition. But the eastern portion of the fortifications have been almost entirely renewed, first by the Muhammadans, and then by the Jâts. I have no doubt that this eastern fortification, when it was in its primitive condition, originally enclosed the old outer town of Santipûr, which was probably situated on this table-land-like height to the east, which closely adjoins the old fort to the west. Near the verge of the south-eastern part of this outer fort, and close to the southern wall, which overhangs a tremendous perpendicular precipice, there is a two storeyed pavilion which was built by the Rajas of Bharatpûr. From the roof of this building one has a splendid and extensive view, especially south-westwards, towards Khirauli, and westwards in the direction of Jaypûr and Ajmèr.

Some distance to the north-east from this building, and about the centre of the eastern end of the fort, there stands the upper inner gateway of the fort, from which a flight of steps leads down to the outer gate, from which a zigzag causeway leads down to the mouth of the valley below. Outside of the fortifications, to the right hand of the gateway looking east, there is a second lower outer wall which embraces a prôjecting sloping spur of the hill. Looking north-eastwards from this point, one sees in front a great circular amphitheatre-like valley, surrounded by rocky and precipitous heights. In the centre of this valley, I observed a curious basin-like depression, and I believe that this circular valley must have been a volcanic crater at some immensely remote geological period.

Opposite to and facing the eastern termination of the fort, and about 600 feet distant to the east, across and on the other side of the narrow mouth of the valley, a narrow spur of the encircling rocky range projects forward, and helps nearly to shut in the valley; and between the bluff end of this rocky spur, and the heights on which the fort is situated, lies the narrow pass by which the valley is entered from the plain outside to the south. In this narrow mouth or pass which leads into the valley, I found the traces of two walls, an inner one and an outer one, running across it, which must originally have shut the valley completely in. Within the

valley I found the remains of an old building, surmounted by three low round domes, which had evidently been built by the Muhammadans.

From the bluff end of the narrow spur of the hill which faces the eastern end of the fort, on the other side of the narrow entrance to the valley, a ruined wall runs due southwards out into the open plain for 1,945 feet, until it meets with an ancient ruined gateway, which is said to have been one of the gateways of the old Pathân city of Sikandra, which is believed to have been founded by Sikandar Lodi. The deserted site of this old Pathân town will now be described in the following pages.

9—SIKANDRA.

The wall which I have just described as running south from the foot of the hills below the fort of Vijay-mandar Garh to an ancient Muhammadan gateway out on the plain, evidently originally formed a portion of the fortification wall of the old Pathân city of Sikandra; and the wall extends, again, beyond the gateway above referred to for a considerable distance, still further southwards. I believe the old Pathân city to have been situated immediately to the west of this wall, and on the plain at the foot of the hill immediately to the south of the fort. But I also observed the ruined sites of buildings, and also numerous Muhammadan tombs, scattered here and there eastwards, as well in the direction of Baiâna; and therefore it is probable that there may have been an outer town, or suburb, also to the eastward of the wall. I believe, in fact, that a sort of suburb must have extended, along the old highway, all the way from Sikandra to Baiâna, a distance of about 5 miles. Indeed, the present inhabitants of the locality say that this was actually the case.

The old gateway, before referred to, is the only one of the old gateway of Sikandra that I could see still standing. A very correct representation of this old gateway from a sketch done by myself on the spot, and drawn from it afterwards, according to actual measurements, will accompany this report. The gateway is built of red sandstone. The dimensions of this gateway are as follows:—height, from the ground to the top of the wall plates, 30 feet; height to the top of the battlements, 35 feet; extent, lengthways, by horizontal measurement, including the side wings, 48 feet; breadth of way, or span of the single central arch, 14 feet 4 inches; depth of gateway through, from outside to outside, about 18 feet; height of the archway, 20 feet. The sides of the gateway are in a very ruinous and dilapidated condition; and three of the crenelated battlements of the top of the body of the gateway have fallen down. The archway of the gateway is a sort of re-curved, pointed arch, common in Muhammadan architecture. The angular spaces on the face of the gateway, on each side of the top of the arch, are adorned by a large, circular, flower-shaped ornament, sculptured in bold relief. Exactly in the centre, directly above the apex of the arch, there is a curious little square window, the sill of which is ornamented at bottom by a sculptured beading, which

may be described as a row of rounded, leaf-shaped points. And on each side of this central square window there is a sort of little arched loop-hole, shaped like a pigeon-hole. A projecting line of masonry, corresponding to the curve of the actual archway, runs up over the archway, forming the figure of a second shallow pointed arch, the apex terminating in a sculptured three-leaved flower. To either side of this, there are two large, round, boss-shaped ornaments, one on each side. There are two square projections, forward, to the gateway, one on either side of the archway; and also two side wings. The interior of the gateway displays quite a Hindu style of architecture. There are deep arched recesses on either side of the interior of the gateway. In the front of each side recess there are two pillars and two half-pillars, about 7 feet in height, which are surmounted by double bracket capitals, one above the other. These pillars support a sort of upper loft, or gallery. Above the former pillars, in the face of the upper gallery, there are again two pillars and two half-pillars. These latter pillars are about the same height as the lower ones, and are surmounted by single bracket capitals of an elegant pattern and considerably elaborate design.

There is nothing else particularly worthy of notice on the site of the old city of Sikandra; it is so entirely razed and dismantled; and the cultivation of the soil of the old site, a great portion of which has been turned into fields under the plough, has no doubt swept away most of its remains. And I have no doubt that the inhabitants of the surrounding villages have appropriated most of the available stones of any ruined buildings that may have remained. There is nothing more now left, except the razed sites of dwellings, some shapeless mounds of rubbish or débris, and several Muhammadan tombs. The sites of a few mosques may also be distinguished here and there.

I cannot close this account without acknowledging the great civility I received from the old Killadar of the fort of Baiâna. He is a fine specimen of a good old Hindu gentleman, and certainly the nicest native gentleman of the old school that I ever met. He was exceedingly kind and attentive to me, and came out himself to show me anything that was of interest in the fort, although he was suffering from fever at the time. He is said to have been the foster father of the present Raja of Bharatpûr.

As a naturalist, it may perhaps be incumbent upon me to say something concerning some curious circumstances

in connection with the monkeys, or rather great apes, which inhabit the rocky heights about the fort of Vijaymandar Garh and Baiâna, which might very possibly be of some interest to such advanced theorists as Darwin and Huxley. These monkeys belong to the species called "*Semnopithecus entellus*", the "*Hanumân*" ape of India. It is said that the males and females of these monkeys live entirely separate during the greater part of the year, the males inhabiting the rocky heights above, while the females and young inhabit the trees and rocks in the gorges below; and that the males come down only once a year to cohabit with the females, and that then there is a tremendous pitched battle between all the males, for the favor of the females, until at length one single powerful male proves victorious, who consequently remains with the females, like a cock among a lot of hens; while the remaining body of the defeated males retire to the heights discomfited, but taking away with them the half-grown up young males who were born in the preceding year. I do not know exactly the period of gestation of the females with young, between the time of their cohabitation with the males and the birth of the young monkeys; but when I was encamped in the gorge to the north-east of the fort of Vijaymandar Garh, at the end of the month of December 1871, the females were then carrying their young about with them, and, I should say, that the young ones appeared at that time to be at least a month old; and I should therefore suppose that the cohabitation of the females with the selected male or males must take place about the commencement of the rains or about the end of the month of June, or the beginning of July; and I should therefore suppose that the period of the gestation of the females must be about five or six months.

This may, perhaps, be some grist to the mill of Darwin's "*Natural Selection.*"

10—MÂCHÂṚI, MACHÂḌI, OR SÂNCHÂRI.

Mâchâri is situated in the southern part of the Alwar territory, about 22 miles to the south of Alwar, and about 90 miles to the west-north-west-half-west from Agra. The ancient name of the place was "Sânchâri."

On approaching Mâchâri from the south-east, one passes through a narrow gap or pass in a range of high, somewhat reddish-coloured hills. This gap appears to be that which is called the *Taltora pass* in a map which I have. If this name be correct, it may possibly mean *the lake bursting*, or it may indicate a breach made through the hills by the *bursting* of a *lake*, which may, at some former period, have occupied the south-eastern portion of the great valley plain of Mâchâṛi, which lies within the range of hills above mentioned, and stretches out to the north-west of them, between other ranges of hills, which partly close this great valley in, on the west and north-east. Certainly the level of the great mountain-girded valley plain of Mâchâṛi, to the north of these hills, is higher than the level of the country outside to the south of the hills.

At the inner end of the pass, through the southern range of hills, there is a village, inhabited by *Bargûjars*, perched on the shoulder of a hill, on the right or east side of the pass, as one defiles through it into the great valley beyond. A little further on, one sees a large village, with the houses crowded together on a low conical hill.

Beyond that, to the north, near the centre of the great mountain-bounded valley plain, a huge, lofty, long-shaped, double-peaked hill, rises, frowning in gloomy ruggedness. This great central peaked hill is surmounted by the remains of the ruined walls of one of those loose stone or boulder forts, which I call *cyclopean*, and some of which I believe to have been constructed by the aboriginal tribes of India. On skirting round the southern end of this huge central hill, one sees in front the actual valley plain, which lies immediately before Mâchâṛi itself, which is nestled, as it were, in a sheltered green nook, in the face of a long western range of hills, which rise into high rocky peaks to the south and south-west of Mâchâṛi.

From the little sheltered gorge in which Mâchâṛi is situated, and in which there is one of the most beautiful groves of tall waving palm trees that I ever saw, there is

a pass over the hills, leading into another valley beyond, which lies to the back and west of the Mâchâṛi range of hills. On a rising ground, on the left side, or southern declivity of the entrance to this pass above Mâchâṛi, the large, square, ruined palace of the old Bargûjar Rajas of Mâchâṛi is situated. On gaining the further end of this pass, and issuing out of it towards the west, one then passes down a steep gorge which turns towards the south; and then, on turning the projecting shoulder of the spur of a hill, one sees, before one, across a green and fertile valley, another range of picturesque hills running out from the south-west towards the north-west; and on a somewhat detached, conical-looking hill, which is one of the isolated outlying crests of this last-mentioned range of hills, the fort of *Râjgarh* is situated. A long line of fortification also runs along the ridge of a range of hills to the south-west from Râjgarh. The east is bounded by the precipitous sides of the grand and lofty, alpine, peaked range, which runs to the south of Mâchâṛi. Other lofty ranges of hills appear looming up, in the far west, beyond Râjgarh. The lofty blue hills of Alwar rise away to the north of Mâchâṛi.

The plain which lies in front, and to the east and south-east of Mâchâṛi, is rugged and stony, and somewhat sternly bleak and bare looking. But on crossing the Mâchâṛi range by the short cut, through the palm grove shaded pass or gorge, behind Mâchâṛi, and on issuing from it to the west, one looks down on the valley which surrounds Râjgarh as a perfect earthly paradise. There the white walls of the well kept fort of Râjgarh are picturesquely perched on a hill which rises out of a green and fertile tree-embowered valley. And there are orange groves bearing a very fine quality of that fruit, delicious to the taste of the tired archæological explorer who has been living on a meagre fare of dry *chapâtis!* The fort of Râjgarh constitutes a sort of summer palace of the Rajas of Alwar.

Altogether I must say that the hill scenery in the neighbourhood of Mâchâṛi forms the most picturesque *toute ensemble* of alpine landscapes that can be found anywhere in that part of western India.

The name of Mâchâṛi is commonly written on maps, and in books, as *Macheri* or *Machery*. But the inhabitants of the place invariably pronounce the name as Mâchâḍi. The true name of the place, however, is Mâchâḍi, as I found the name thus spelt, twice over, in a long inscription

of the old Bargûjar" (or Baḍagûjar) Rajas of Mâchâṛi, which I discovered in a Baori well.

The name of Mâchâṛi or Mâchâḍi, is generally supposed to have been derived from that of the Mâtsya dynasty of Rajas. But the old Rajas of Mâchâṛi were in reality Bargûjars, who were descended from a Raja named *Matsya Dèva*, who was their great ancestor. In the inscription above referred to, the name of this Bargûjar dynasty is spelt as Baḍagûjar; and therefore Baḍagûjar must evidently be the proper and correct orthography of the name of this tribe; which I shall consequently henceforth make use of.

The Badagûjars claim to be descended originally from Lau, or Lao, or Lâhu, or Lâva, of the family of Râma; and this Lau, or Lâva, or Lâhu, is said to have founded Lahor.

I found an inscription of the Badagûjar Rajas, of nineteen lines, "dated Samvat 1439, Sâkè 1304" (equal to A. D. 1382), in a Baori well at Mâchâṛi.[1] This inscription states that it was executed in the time of *Raja Asala Dèva* of the Baḍagûjar tribe, the son of Mahârâjâdhirâja Ṣri Gôgâ Dèva Raja, and Ṣri Sûratâṇ Phèrôj Sâhi râjyè, that is, during the reign of Firóz Shâh, bin Salar Rajab, of Delhi. "*Samvatsaresminu Śri Vikramâditya râjyè, Samvat 1439, Sâkè 1304, varshâ Vaisâkham sudi 6, Ravi dino pushyan kritto* (or *pushpan krhitro?*) *Śri Ṣûratân Phèrôj Sâhi râjyè, pravarttatro, Mâchâḍi vâsthânè Badagûjar vansès Râjâ Ṣri Âsala Dèva suta, Mahârâjâdhirâja Ṣri Gôgâ Dèva Râjâ Samanyè.*"

I may here state that one of the last Rajas, of the Baḍagûjar tribe, who resided at Mâchâṛi, is said to have been Iṣwara Sèna, who was the son of Âsala Dèva. The name of Iṣwara Sèna's Rani, or queen, was Chamhana Dèvi.

The inscription then goes on to give an enumeration of the ancestors of Asala and Gôgâ, in the following words:—"*Ahisthâna Shandèlâmhikâsâya Jagaṇâthâ, Pipala Dèva,* (or *Mâtsya?*) *Dèva, kûla dèvatâya, Alavara ûprâjai* (or *ûprârjè* ?) *nâya, Mâchâḍi vasthânè nivesa nâyâ, Kâspanpa*[2] *gotrâ Kâḍrasâ* (or *gotrâyâ ḍusâ?*) *Ṣakâ* (or *Śaṅko?*) *thavyo* (or *chhavyo?, kâya shandèlavâlanghè,*[3] *Ṣri Spâdhua* (or

[1] See Plate XI for this inscription.

[2] I read this name as *Kâsyapa.*—A. C.

[3] I read *Shandelawâlânwe* followed by *Sri Sadh,u* and I take all the names of the Shandelawâlâ race to be those of the family of the builder of the temple A. C.

(Śrâdnụa?) Bâvah Sût—Dâmvarâ—Dhânâ—Mâdhyâ—Ratra mân—Râmvauchandrya;—jyeshṭha putranṛikâ nâma Dâmvarè—pûtra—Nâga Dèva, Shèmvaṭa;—Dhânâ pûtra, Sâranga;—Mâdhyâ pûtra, Bhairghû (or *Bhaiḍgû;*, or *Bhairmû?) Dèva;—Ratamân pûtra, Kaula Sinha;—Râmvançhandra pûtra, Shèmva Sinha, Apanjalèrdha.*"

From this inscription we learn that the ancestors of Âsala and Gôgâ were Jagan-nâth, Pipala Dèva, and Mâtsya Dèva, who were of god-like race, who had conquered Alwar, and made Mâchâṛi their habitation.

These Baḍagûjar Rajas at one time also possessed Bairât, as well as Mâchâṛi; and it is curious that Abu Rihan calls the country about Bairât Guzrât," or "Karzât;"[1] from which it would appear that it must have been so called from the Baḍagûjars, who must then have been the principal inhabitants of the place.

Now, General Cunningham, in his Report on "Ajmèr," in the Archæological Report for 1864-65, notices that Farishta states that in the year A. H. 63, or A. D. 682, the Raja of Ajmèr was related to the Raja of Lahor. On which he remarks:—"But the relationship must have been only a connection by marriage, as even tradition does not venture to assign any part of the Panjâb to the dominion of the Chohâns." But I myself think that this has been wrongly understood to mean that it referred to a then existing connection; while, on the contrary, from the new light which I have attempted to throw on the subject, it appears to me evident that it must have referred simply to a tradition, to the effect that the Chohân Rajas of Ajmèr were connected by descent with an ancient Raja of *Lahor*,—namely, "Lau," or "Lava," or "Lahu," who, the Bargûjars say, founded Lahor, and from whom, they say, that they themselves were descended. For I have already suggested that the Baḍagûjars were descended from Bhârgava, who was one of the five Pravaras of the Vatsa gotra, from one of whom, Jamadagnya, the Chohâns were also descended. This, then, is the meaning of the Chohân king of Ajmér being related to the Raja (that is, to the founder) of Lahor,—namely..."Lau," or "Lâva," or "Lâhu."* But "lau" also means a *flame*;[2] and hence we

[1] See General Cunningham's Archæological Report for 1864-65, page 244.

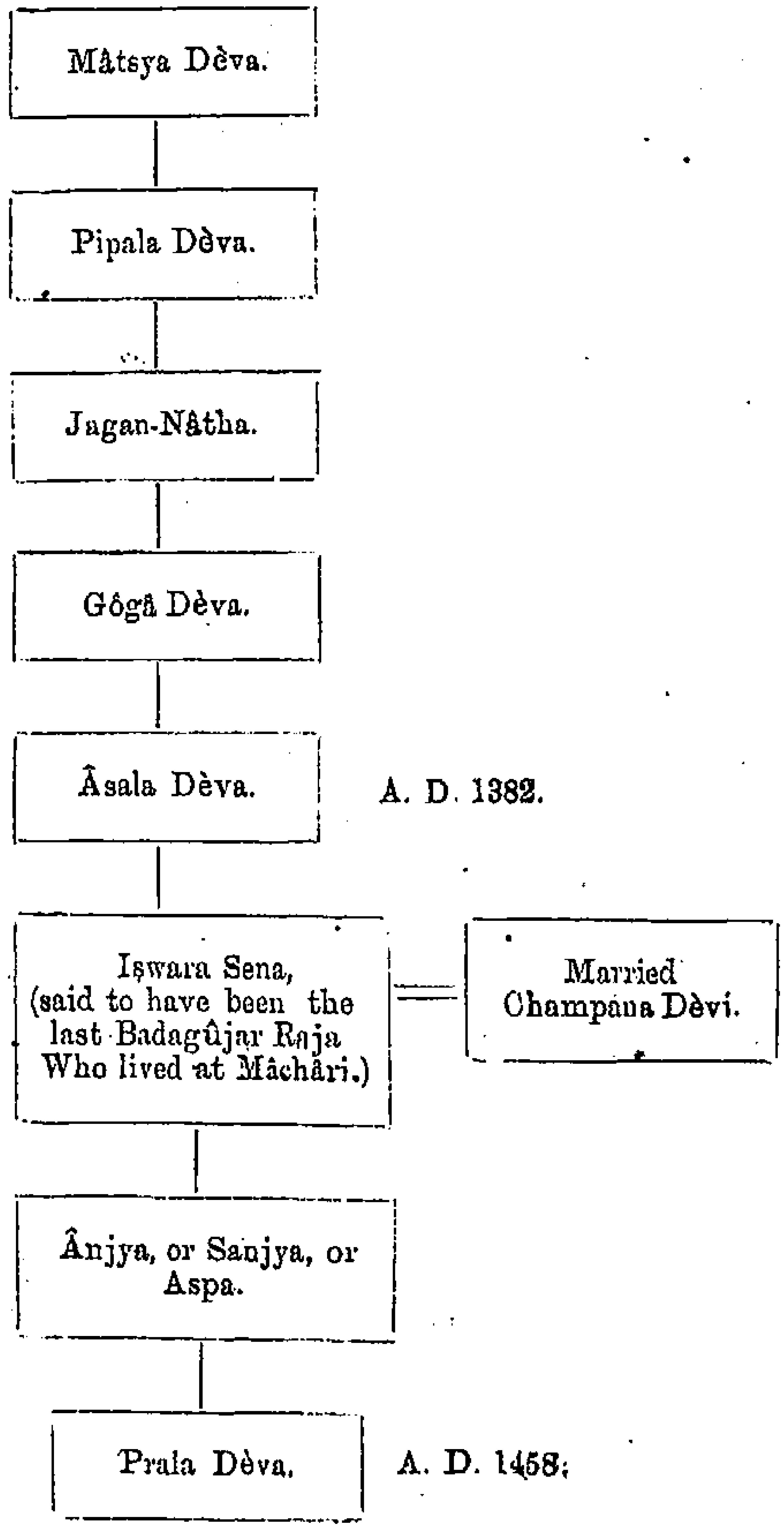
[2] The syllables "la" and "al" are evidently ancient Arian roots signifying *fire*, or *heat*, or *burning*. "Lou," in the Lowland Scottish dialects, means a *flame*, or the red heat of a *fire*.—"*El*," in Gothic, means *fire*; and "aetan" in Saxon, means *to burn*. In the Gaelo-Celtic language, also, "lasair" means a *flame*, or a *flash* of *fire*, and "*loisg*" means *to burn*.

have, in this literal interpretation of the name of "Lau," the reputed great ancestor of the Baḍagûjars, apparently simply another version of the "origin from fire," of the Agni-kulas, or so-called fire-sprung races,—and of that of the Chohâns, in particular, who profess to be descended from "Anala" or "Anhul," the "cow-herd," whose name "Anala," means fire. [1] But the name Anala looks very much like as if it were a compound of Anu and Lau, and thence Ana-lau. Now, it is curious and worthy of special remark here, that the people of Mâchâṛi said that the most ancient king of that place, and who originally founded Mâchâṛi under its ancient name of Sânchâṛi, was Raja Bèn Chakwa, that is, Raja Vèna Chakravartti. This "Vèna" was the son of Anga, who was the son of Trina, who was the son of Usinara, who was a direct descendant from Anu. Hence we here find the two names "Anu" and "Lau" brought together in the historical traditions of Mâchâṛi. But it might, perhaps, be considered as bordering on a somewhat wild Wilfordian sort of speculation to venture to suggest that a combination of the two names "Anu" and "Lau," or "Lavâ," would make a compound name Anu-lau, or Anu-lâva, which might indicate some connection by marriage between the two families of Anu and Lau, or Lâva; and the issue of such a union might have been called Ana-lau, which would produce a near resemblance at least to the "Anala," or "Anhul," of the Chohân traditions.

I also obtained another inscription at Mâchâṛi in another Baori well, which is said to have been constructed by Champana Dèvi, the Rani or queen of Iswara Sèna. This inscription was so very much broken and defaced that it was almost totally illegible; but it preserved the date, which I read plainly as "Samvat 1515" (A.D. 1458); and in this inscription the name of "Sri Raja Prâla Dèva" is mentioned, and also that of "Sri Suratân Bahalol," which is followed by a word which may possibly be that of "Sikandar". That portion of the inscription in which the name of the Raja is given, reads as "Sri Raja Prâla Dèva Anjya pûtra", or "Aspa pûtra," or "Sanjya pûtra". It is therefore evident that this Anjya or Sanjya, must have been the son of Iswara Sena, and the father of Prâla Dèva.

[1] Here, again, there is an exactly simila word in the Gaelo-Celtic language; for "ainneal," in Gaelic, means *a fire*.

From these two inscriptions I think that we may deduce the following genealogical tree:—



In his account of "Amber," Tod says that "the Bargûjar tribe claims descent from Lâva or Lâo, the elder "son of Rama."[1] The Bargûjar tribe were formerly in possession of Deosa, to the east of Amber, as well as of Deoti, Rajaur,

[1] Rajasthan, Vol II., p. 348.

and Mâchâṛi; and Tod says that the Bargûjar Chief of Deosa at first objected to give his daughter in marriage to Dulha Rai Kachhwâha, because they were both of the *Suryavansi*, or *solar race*—that is, the Kachhwâhas pretend to be descended from "Kuṣa," the son of Râma. But General Cunningham has shown in his report on "Narwar" (1864-65, Vol. II., p. 319), that the name of the Kachhwâhas is *not* derived from that of Kuṣa, but from Kachhwâhaṅ, which is a contraction of Kachchhapa-*haṅ*, which is the same as "Kachchhapa-ghâta," who is stated to have been the great ancestor of the Kachhwâhas, in an inscription at Gwalior dated A.D. 1093. Tod himself quotes the term "Coorma" (Kûrma) as another name of the Kachhwâhas; and he adds in a note that "Coorma and Cuchwa are synonymous terms, meaning *tortoise*".[1] Kachhwâ-haṅ therefore literally means *the tortoise killers*. General Cunningham also exposes the fabulousness of the pretended descent of the Kachhwâhas from Nala, and shows that "Nala" is the same as "padma," which means the lotus; and that Nala-pûra was the old name of Narwar, which is synonymous with Padmavati, which was the name of the ancient capital of Narwar, or Nalapûra.

As, therefore, the pretended descent of the Kachhwâhas from Kuṣa is exceedingly improbable, or, at least, very doubtful, I think it may also be considered equally doubtful whether the Bargûjars, or Baḍagûjars, were descended from Lâva, the reputed son of Râma; but, as I said before, I believe them to be really descended from Bhârgava of the *Vatsa gotra*.

The ancient capital of the Baḍagûjar tribe was at Deoti, between Rajauri and Bhângarh, about 15 miles to the south-west of Mâchâṛi. Rajauri, or Rajâwar, was also an ancient place of the Baḍagûjars. I was not aware of the exact position of Deoti when I was at Mâchâṛi, or else I should most certainly have visited it. In fact, I was not aware of its true position until I was leaving Deosa for Châtsu. But I would strongly recommend that Deoti, the site of the ancient capital of the Baḍagûjars, should be visited and thoroughly examined. Tod seems to have considered Deoti to have been the name of a Bargûjar State, of which Rajaur (or "Rajore," as he spells it) was the capital; but all the natives whom I questioned on the subject at Deosa,

[1] Tod's "Rajasthan", Vol II., p. 351. The above is, of course, a fact well known to all.

which was an ancient position of the Baḍagûjars, assured me that Deoti was the name of the actual ancient capital of the Baḍagûjar Rajas, and that it was situated at a short distance from Rajaur, and about 20 miles to the north of Deosa.

Mâchâṛi appears to have been a sort of secondary capital of the Baḍagûjars, and it was, along with Rajaur, taken from the Baḍagûjars by Siwai Jay Sinh Kachhwâha, who founded Jaypûr, probably somewhere about A.D. 1700.

With regard to the name of Mâchâṛi, I have already stated my belief that its name was derived from Mâtsya Dèva, who was one of the Baḍagûjar Rajas, and who must have lived between A.D. 1290 and 1300. But there is a curious and somewhat absurd, and of course fabulous, story current at Mâchâṛi to account for the name of the place. It is said that in the reign of Iṣwara Séna, his minister complained to him of the ill conduct of his mother; and that in commemoration of this peculiar event, Iṣwara Sèna changed the name of the place from its old name of "Sânchâri" to its present name of "Mâchâṛi"; as the people pretend to say that the name of Mâchâṛi may be derived from "Ma," *mother*, and "châri," which means *back-biting*, or *finding fault*, or making a *complaint*. The termination "châri," however, is characteristic of the names of places in the Mâchâṛi country; for, in the first place, we find that "Sânchâṛi" was the ancient name of the place; and then, secondly, we have its present name of Mâchâṛi; and, thirdly, there is a place called "Tâl-châri," or "Tâl-cheri," a short distance to the south of Mâchâṛi, in which a number of people called "Jags" reside, who are bards, or reciters, by profession, and who have preserved most of the ancient traditions of the country.

All the inhabitants of the place from whom I made enquiries agreed in asserting that the ancient name of Mâchâṛi was "Sânchâri"; and they said that the ancient city of Sânchari was founded by a "Raja Bèn Chakwa," or Raja Vèna Chakravartti; and that the ancient kings of Sânchâri were "Panyars," or of the Panyar tribe. By this name, "Panyar," I would suppose that the Paundravas were meant, who were the descendants of Pundra, who was the uncle of Vèna; while Vèna himself was the ancestor of the Bachhal tribe. But both the Paundravas and the Bachhals are branches of the great and ancient *Yaudheya* race, who were the descendants of Trina, who was the father of Pundra and the grandfather of Vèna. The coins of these

Yaudheyas are still found, bearing the legend "*Jaya* Yaudheya Ganasya" *(triumph to the Yaudheya host).* Now, Vèna was the father of Virâta, who founded the ancient city of Bairât, which is situated about 35 miles to the north-west of Mâchâṛi. It appears to me evident, therefore, that the whole country about Bâirat, Mâchâṛi, Rajaur, and Deoti, must, in ancient times, have been inhabited by the *Yaudheyas*, *Paundravas*, and *Bâchhals*, who were, through Trina and Usinara, descended from Anû, the son of Yayâti, and that they were succeeded, or dispossessed, by the *Bais* tribe, and the *Bais*, in their turn, dispossessed by the Badagûjars, who were probably the descendants of Bhârgava of the *Vatsa gotra.*

With regard to Raja Vèna, I may, perhaps, be permitted here to mention that, for certain reasons which have recently developed themselves, there is some cause to suspect that the "Raja Vèna," whose name is preserved in so many of the traditions of North-Western India, was an *Indo-Scythian;* and in that case, either he could not have been descended from Anû, or else the race of Anû himself must also have been *Indo-Scythic!* The latter would certainly appear at first sight to be a somewhat startling conclusion to arrive at; but I have long suspected that several of the tribes and families which have been hitherto attributed to the *Chandravansi*, or *Lunar race*, must, in reality, have belonged to some totally different race. This opinion of mine appears lately to have received some confirmation by another circumstance—namely, a rumour to the effect that Dr. Bhau Dhaji, of Bombay, considers Sâlivâhana (the reputed ancestor of the *Bais* tribe) to have been an *Indo-Scythian!* [1]

The ancient inhabitants of the neighbouring region of Alwar are said to have been "*Nekubs*," or "*Nikubs*," whom, I would suggest, may have been descended from Nikumbha, who was of the Solar race.

There is an ancient temple in Mâchâṛi in a considerably dilapidated condition, which is said to have been built by one of the earlier Rajas of the Baḍagûjar dynasty; but I could not ascertain by which of them; and I could not find any inscription about the temple which might have afforded us, either the name of its builder, or the date of its foundation. The dimensions of the body, or sanctum

[1] I may here acknowledge that these suppositions concerning the origin of Raja Vèna and Sálivâhana were communicated to me, in the course of conversation, by General Cunningham.

of the temple outside are only about 13 feet 7 inches by 11 feet 9 inches.[1] It is nearly a square building, but with the two posterior corners each cut up into four receding and five projecting rectangular angles; and there is a projection on each side of the doorway. The walls of the sanctum of the temple are nearly 5 feet thick in the centre. There is, however, a somewhat spacious open colonnade, consisting of sixteen handsome and massive pillars, which forms a sort of portico in front of the main body of the temple. This colonnade, or pillared portico, is 19 feet 8 inches in width from side to side, and it is therefore 7 feet 10 inches wider than the body of the temple, and projects 3 feet 11 inches beyond it on each side. My idea is that this really fine colonnade must originally have formed the front of a much older and larger temple. The sixteen pillars are ranged in four rows, four in each row.[2] The bases of the pillars are twelve-cornered square,—that is, their transverse or horizontal section is a square, of which each of the corners is cut into two angles. The shafts of some of the pillars are of the same shape, while others are round or cylindrical. The diameter of the bases of the pillars is about 1 foot 5 inches to 1 foot 6 inches, and that of the shafts about 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 3 inches; while the total height of the pillars is only about 6 feet 9 inches; so that these columns have the appearance of being somewhat thick and massive, in comparison to their height. The shafts of the pillars are, most of them, richly sculptured,—principally with bands of floral devices of considerable elegance and variety. On one there is (among many other devices) apparently a representation of a basket of flowers; and on a sculptured band above that there are large, broad, heart-shaped, pendant leaves, displayed like those of the water lily. Above that there is a pyramidal-shaped device, with floral and leaf ornaments. On another pillar there is the representation of a floral vase; and in a band of sculpture immediately below that, and on another band above, near the top of the pillar, the ornamentation consists of the circular flower of the lotus. The capitals of the pillars are light, and of the same design as to form as the shafts. They are not much wider than the shafts, and are ornamented with a simple band of sculpture.

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[1] See Plate IX. for a plan of this temple.
[2] See Plate X for elevations of these pillars.

I have now to describe the old, and now ruined and deserted, palace of the former or ancient Rajas of Mâchâri. This is a large, somewhat plain, square mass of building, which is situated above the town of Mâchâri, in a conspicuous position, on a lower shoulder of the hill range which rises at the back of the town, and on the left or southern side of the pass or gorge which crosses the hill range in a westerly direction from Mâchâri. On passing through the town of Mâchâri towards the hill side against which it rests, one enters the mouth of the gorge or pass, on the right-hand side of which there is a large white-looking but handsome and imposing modern temple, standing in a great enclosure, raised up on a high terrace. As far as I can remember, I think it was called the temple of *Rama*. This large modern temple was built by the Rajas of Alwar. On passing this, one enters a beautiful and extensive shady grove of tall palm trees, which appeared to me at the time to be one of the most delightful spots I had ever been in. After issuing from the palm grove, one sees, frowning above, on a height to the left, the grim-looking walls and two great round bastion towers of the old palace of the former Rajas of Mâchâri, now no more. One has to ascend a steep declivity of a projecting lower shoulder of the hill range in order to get at the building. On arriving there, one finds that it consists outwardly simply of four walls, with a gateway in the centre of one of the sides, and two great round bastion towers at the opposite end, to the rear,—one at each corner of what may be called the back wall of the palace enclosure. This great mass of building is nearly square, its dimensions exteriorly being about 114 feet by 104 feet. On passing into the gateway, one finds one self in a sort of vestibule, or antechamber, from which a narrow doorway, a little to the left, leads into a smaller chamber; and, lastly, through a second narrow doorway beyond, one passes into a great interior court, or *chauk*, the dimensions of which I found to be 73 feet 10 inches (or 74 feet) by 71 feet 7 inches (or 72 feet); or about the same size as the great central court in the so-called "red-stone palace of Jahângir" in the fort of Agra. All round the court, on the whole four sides, there are doorways entering into chambers or leading to stairs. There are twenty-five doorways altogether. Of these, fifteen lead into chambers, and four lead to stairs which ascend to the upper part of the building. There are eighteen chambers, or apartments, altogether. The largest of the chambers are about 21 feet in length by

about 10 feet in width; others are smaller. There is nothing very fine about the architecture of the building—nothing at all in any way to be compared to the old palatial buildings in the forts of Agra and Gwalior. But whatever architectural details worthy of note it may possess are characteristically Hindu; and although the building, as a whole, is rather plain, with very little of what can correctly be called ornamentation of any kind, or is, at least, much less handsome in its details than one might have expected, it nevertheless affords a very good specimen of an old Hindu palace, although the upper parts of the building are now in a very ruinous condition.

The two great bastion towers, one at each corner of the rear wall of the building, are of very large dimensions as to diameter; one being 22 feet in diameter, and the other about 19 feet.

I had some excavations made in the central court of the old palace, in the hope of finding some relics of antiquity; but I found nothing, except a large black scorpion!

I spent one day in ascending one of the highest summits of the lofty range of hills which run north and south from Mâchâri. I ascended the range a short distance (about 2 miles) to the south of Mâchâri. Here I found it to consist of a double range—a lower and a higher one—with a regular wild highland valley between the two, from the bottom of which nothing but the blue sky overhead and the overhanging cliffs and crags to the right and left above one could be seen; and towering up, almost perpendicularly, immediately before one, the sharp-peaked and serrated crest of the higher or second range presented a very fine sight. The whole scene was absolutely Alpine in charâcter, and it only wanted the addition of the heather to make one fancy one had been somehow suddenly transported to the Highlands of bonnie Scotland, far away.

On attaining the summit of the first or outer lower range, I discovered a very curious aboriginal tomb, formed of slabs of stone and boulders. It was of large size, and of an oblong shape; the low walls of the tomb were composed of boulders and other large stones, and it had originally been entirely covered in by large slabs of stone laid on across the top.[1] Of these, one or two had fallen in or been knocked off; but four of the top cross slabs were still in their original position. The dimensions of this aboriginal

[1] See Plate XI for a plan of this tomb.

tomb were as follow: length, exteriorly, from 13 to 15 feet; breadth, exteriorly, 6 feet; height of side walls, from the ground to the top of the covering slabs, 2 feet 3 inches to 2 feet 6 inches. I dug into the interior of the structure, but found nothing except some bone ash, a stone ball, and a few rude flakes of stone. I made a rough sketch of the tomb.

After examining this aboriginal tomb, I crossed the intervening gorge and commenced the ascent of the lofty precipitous peak of the second higher range, which I found to be a very laborious undertaking. The rock here is basaltic, and on the way up I knocked some interesting mineralogical specimens out of the rock with a geological hammer which I carried with me: and, in particular, I may here notice a kind of spar which was as hard as adamant, and which broke a large piece off my hammer.[1] On attaining the summit of the hill, I found it was very narrow, and in some places the sides of it were simply perpendicular cliffs. I discovered, however, that the narrow space on the summit had, at some time or another, been turned into a rude sort of fortress by building up loose stone walls here and there between projecting ridges of rocks; and one long sharp ridge of rock rises from and runs along the very centre of the narrow space. But at the southern end I found the remains of some masonry work, which had apparently been added at some later period. In a cleft, in a lower ledge of the summit here, I found that a deep cistern for retaining water had been excavated in the very heart of the rock.

At the northern end of this lofty summit there is a rude shrine, or a sort of rough attempt at a small temple, with a rag for a flag stuck on a pole; and a small hovel near it, which is frequented by two wild-looking and nearly naked *jogis* during the day-time, but they quit their lofty eyrie at night.

I descended the precipice on the west side towards Rajgarh, and returned by the pass to Mâchâri.

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[1] This spar was most certainly not quartz, nor common rock crystal, which fact somewhat puzzled me. It was clear and transparent, but not white, but rather of deep-water colour.

MANGÂNA KA BÂRA.

On my route from Mâchâri to Bairât, I came by way of the Mangâna ka Bâra Pass and Kosalgarh. The Mangâna ka Bâra Pass is one of the wildest and sternest mountain passes that I have seen in India. It is hemmed in by lofty and precipitous hills, and is filled with a dense jungle; and it is inhabited by wild animals of every kind—tigers, leopards, hyænas, and sâmbar. Near Kosalgarh, either a large leopard or a tiger, sprang into the midst of my camels, while I was on the march at night, and took away my dog; and the animal passed close by me with the dog in its mouth. I followed the animal, and fired a rifle ball into it, on which it dropped the dog: The dog was, however, so lacerated about the neck that it had afterwards to be shot.

But the reason of my mentioning the Mangâna ka Bâra Pass in particular, is, that there are some old ruins at the foot of the hills, at the mouth of the pass, as one enters it from the south-east. These ruins appeared to be partly of old Muhammadan origin and partly Hindu.

Between Kosalgarh and Ghazi ka Thana I had to ascend a tremendously steep and narrow pass, which would be bad enough even for mules, but it was with the greatest difficulty that my loaded camels could be dragged up it at all. At Ghazi ka Thana there is an old Muhammadan fort, situated on high ground above the village.

11.—BAIRÂT, OR VAIRÂTA.

On my route from Mâchâri to Uncha Pahâr, I had almost of necessity to pass through the valley of Bairât. But as General Cunningham had already visited Bairât, and described it in his Archæological Report for 1864-65, I did no more than rest there for a day or two, while waiting for my horse, which had been left behind on the road, sick and fagged out. Yet, as even during the short stay I made at Bairât I obtained a little additional information, and also discovered two important inscriptions in ancient characters of the time of Asoka on a rock there, which had never been discovered before, perhaps the following notes and remarks may prove somewhat acceptable.

General Cunningham calls Vairât, or Bairât, "the capital of *Matsya*." Now, the name of *Matsya* could only have been derived from that of *Matsya Dèva*, who, as I have already stated in my report on Mâchâri, was the immediate great ancestor of the Baḍagûjar or Bargûjar Rajas of Mâchâri; and this branch of the Bargûjar tribe would therefore be called *Matsyas*, and their country, the *Matsya country*. In my report on Mâchâri I have already quoted from General Cunningham's former report on Bairât the fact that Abu Rihân calls the Matsya country, or the country around Bairât, Karzât, or Guzrât and this latter name of Guzrât must therefore have been derived from the latter part of the name of the Baḍagûjar or Bargûjar tribe, who must at that time have been paramount both over Bairât and Mâchâri, as well as Deoti, their ancient capital.

In the time of the Chinese traveller, Hwen Thsang, in A. D. 634, the King of *Po-li-ye-to-lo*, or Bairâta, is stated by him to have been of the *Fei-she* or *Bais* tribe.[1] The King of Bairât at that time must, therefore, have been a relative of the family of Harsha Varddhana, the great Bais Raja of Kanauj, who reigned between A. D. 607 and 650.

Bairât is said to have been founded by Raja *Virâta*, who was the son of Raja *Véna*, who is reputed to have been the founder of *Mâchâri*, as will be found mentioned in my report on that place. Raja *Vèna* is said to have been the son of *Anga*, who was the son of *Trina*, who was the son of *Usinara*, who was a descendant of *Anú*, the son of *Yayâti*. The *Bâchhal* tribe, who are numerous in Oudh and Rohilkhand,

[1] See General Cunningham's Archæological Report for 1864-65, Vol. II, p. 246.

assert that Vèna was their great ancestor. I have, however, stated in my report on Mâchâri, that it is now suspected that Raja Vèna may, after all, possibly have been an Indo-Scythian ![1]

The son of Vèna, *Raja Virâta*, had a son called *Utra*, who is called *Utra Kumâr* in the traditions of Bairât. During the thirteen years' exile of the five *Pândus*, at the time that they were hiding from their rivals, the *Kurûs*, they are said to have spent part of their time at Bairât. General Cunningham, in his report on Bairât, says that the five Pândus spent twelve years of their exile at Bairât; but all the natives at Bairât from whom I made enquiries about the matter expressly and decidedly asserted that the Pândus only spent the last or thirteenth year of their exile at Bairât. At that time, Raja Virâta is said to have been an old man, and that his son, Utra Kumâr, had to act for him in a case of war on one occasion; but it would appear from the story repeated to me at Bairât, that Utra Kumâr was timid and somewhat unwilling to take his place in the warlike ranks until urged to do so by the upbraiding taunts of his mother. I got the whole story from the people at Bairât, and wrote it down. In the following I have given the story almost in the very words in which it was told to me:—

"After the Pândus lost the game of chance (which is said to have been *chaupar* or chess) which they had played with their rivals, the Kurûs, and of which game the sovereignty is said to have been the stake for which they played, the Pândus had to go into exile for thirteen years, out of which they were allowed to pass twelve years wherever they liked; but in the last and thirteenth year, they were bound by certain very hazardous restrictions and conditions, as this last year could only be passed in some secret hiding place, which must be totally unknown to their rivals, the Kurûs; for, if the Kurûs came by chance to know of the hiding place of the Pândus during the last and thirteenth year, the unfortunate Pândus would then have to pass twelve years more in exile. The Pândus, therefore, after having passed twelve years of their trying exile with exemplary patience and endurance, had yet before them to perform the difficult and hazardous task of passing their last and thirteenth year in some secret place which should be totally unknown to the Kurûs, and in which their rivals would not be able to find them out. It is said that the unhappy Pândus, in their difficult predicament, bethought themselves of consulting the Purânas, in one of which all the most secret and hidden places in the country were supposed to be mentioned and described. After having perused the description of all

[1] I should here state that this conjecture concerning the true origin of Raja Vèna, was derived from a remark made to me by General Cunningham in the course of conversation.

the secret places mentioned in the Purânas, the Pândus cast lots among themselves, in order to decide which of the several places mentioned should be their hiding place during the thirteenth and last year of their exile. It so happend that the lot fell upon the name of Vairâta, or Bairât, which accordingly they unanimously decided should be their last hiding place.

"The Pândus accordingly set off on their journey to Bairât; but when they had arrived at the range of hills which encircle the valley of Bairât, and shut it in and so completely hid it that no stranger would suppose that any city existed in that neighbourhood, the Pandus came to the conclusion that it would be necessary to disguise themselves, in order to prevent their being recognised, or any suspicion from falling upon them on account of their royal and noble appearance; and they therefore consulted among themselves as to how each of them should be disguised, and what character they should assume. The place where the five Pându brothers consulted about their disguises, and as to their future proceedings, is said to have been in a valley on the west side of the hills which rise immediately at the back of the city of Bairât, and where the sources of the Bânganga River now issue from a spring in the mountain side. The five Pându brothers here took the apparel they then wore, and their bows and arrows, and other weapons, and hung them on a *smi* tree; but in order to prevent any other persons from either taking away or obtaining access to their sacred weapons, they bound a dead body to the trunk of the tree, and by means of their magical powers they had so brought it about that to any one who touched the dead body, in attempting to ascend the tree, the bows and arrows should immediately appear to have been turned into venomous serpents; and the Pandus also swore that if, by the good will of the Divinity, the time should come when they might again, in their proper characters, take these their weapons from the tree, that they would then purify and consecrate them by washing them in the sacred water of the Ganges. The five Pându brothers, Yudhisthira, Bhima, Arjun, Nakula, and Saha Dèva, along with Draupadi, the wife of Arjun, then crossed the hills, and took their abode in the recesses of a rugged rocky hill, now called the 'Pandus Hill,' which rises within the edge of the valley of Bairât, a little to the north-east of the city.

"After a month had elapsed in their new place of concealment, Yudhisthira ventured to go forth and present himself before Raja Virâta in the disguise of a professional master of games; and as a certificate of his abilities in that capacity, he informed Raja Virâta that he had served the Pându Prince Yudhisthira as master of the game of *chaupar*, and he thus succeeded in getting into the service of Râja Virâta in the same capacity. Then, next, Bhima presented himself at the court of Raja Virâta, and asked for employment, stating that he had been cook to Prince Yudhisthira; and he was accordingly appointed in the cooking line. He was very soon followed by Arjun, who had disguised himself as a woman, and took his wife Draupadi with him, pretending that she was his sister; and Arjun then stated that he (or rather she) had been the mistress of the women's apartments in the palace of Prince Yudhisthira. Arjun and his wife were consequently taken at their word and obtained employment in the female establishment of Raja Virâta

Next, Nakula presented himself, and became groom, or keeper of the horses, of Raja Virâta. Lastly, Saha Dèva made his appearance, and was placed in charge of the cows, as chief cowherd to the King of Bairât.

"The five Pându brothers then continued for some time to pursue their assumed avocations peaceably, until at length Raja Virâta became engaged in a war with some petty neighbouring State, and four of the Pandu brothers—namely, Yudhisthira, Bhima, Nakula, and Saha Dèva—were called upon to accompany him in the warlike campaign. The son of Raja Virâta, Utra Kumar, was then left in charge of the family at Bairât."

"In the meanwhile, however, the Kurûs had not been idle, and they had actually made searh for the Pândus in every secret place in the country with the exception only of Bairât. But at length the Kurûs made an expedition to Bairât also; and they carried off the Raja's cattle, saying. 'If the Pandus are concealed here, most assuredly they will make themselves known by their bold opposition to the act which we have committed.' It is said by the people that the marks of the feet of the Kurûs and the cattle may still be traced from Bairât along the sides of the hills through a pass which goes by a place called Deoli.[1] When the queen of Raja Virâta heard that the cattle had been stolen by the Kurûs, she asked her son Utra Kumâr why he had not revenged the insult by immediately pursuing the Kurûs who had stolen their cattle; and when her son hesitated, she taunted him and charged him with cowardice. Utra Kumâr then in reply stated that he had no person to drive his *rath*, or war-chariot. Draupadi then spoke up, and said that her pretended sister (namely, her husband, Arjun) had been accustomed to drive a chariot, and asked if her pretended sister (Arjun) would do. The queen was at first rather surprised at the idea of a female driving a war-chariot, but at length gave her consent; but she told the pretended female charioteer (Arjun) that, in case of defeat, she hoped never to see him again alive. Every arrangement was then made, and the troops were ready for battle; but there was one difficulty still in the way, and that was, that Arjun, in his pretended character of an amazonian charioteer, could not fight until he had got his bows and arrows, which had been hanging ever since on the *smi* tree in the valley to the west of Bairât. Arjun then took the young prince, Utra Kumâr, with him, and set off for the *smi* tree; and when they had arrived there, he asked the young prince to prove his prowess by ascending the *smi* tree and bringing down the bows and arrows from the top of it. Utra Kumâr plainly saw the bows and arrows hanging on the tree, and commenced to climb its trunk; but, in making the attempt, he touched the dead body which was bound to the tree, and he had no sooner done so than he was filled with terror by seeing dreadful serpents writhing on the branches of the tree, where before he thought he had seen bows and arrows. Arjun then made Utra Kumâr come down again, and told him to take away the corpse from the root of the tree; and then Arjun ascended the tree

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[1] Query *Deoti.*

himself, and took his bows and arrows and other weapons, and brought them down with him. But he had yet, according to his oath, to *wash* his weapons in the sacred water of the Ganges before he could use them. Arjun consequently found himself in a great difficulty, when he remembered how very far off the River Ganges was from Bairât; and under the pressing circumstances of the approaching contest with the Kurûs, he knew that it would be impossible for him to go all the way to the River Ganges and back again. He then bethought himself of his magical power, and believing that the River Ganges also extended down to the lower regions, he took his bow and arrow, and shot an arrow into the ground at the foot of the *smi* tree, and immediately there issued therefrom a spring of the sacred Ganges water, and he then washed his bows and arrows in the water, and thus purified them. This spring of water became in time a river, and from that time forth it has been called the *Vâna Ganga*," or *Bânganga*,' or 'the river of the arrow.'

"Arjun then returned to Bairât, and, along with Utra Kumâr, he led the army against the Kurûs. Arjun made good use of his recovered bows and arrows in the battle. The first arrow which he shot at the enemy fell at the feet of Duna Acharya, the Gûrû of *Arjun*, who recognised the arrow, and immediately informed the Kurûs that some of the Pândus must be near at hand. The Kusûs then searched their books, or documents, in order to find out whether any days were still remaining of the thirteenth, and last year of the exile of the Pandus; but unfortunately, to their consternation, they found that the end of the thirteenth year had elapsed, and that therefore the Pândus were free, and that they could have no further claim on the secrecy of the Pândus. When the Kurûs had discovered this fact, they are said to have fled away ashamed and in a very cowardly manner, and leaving the stolen cattle behind them, which latter Arjun accordingly brought back to Bairât in triumph, along with many trophies of the defeated Kurûs."

In the story which I have related above, it will be observed that, when the five Pându brothers first came to Bairât, they took refuge in the recesses of a rocky hill which is still known as the *Pândus' Hill.* It was on a large isolated rock immediately in front and at the foot of this hill that I discovered the two inscriptions in ancient characters of the period of Asoka. But in order to explain the exact position of the famous hill, it will be necessary for me to give a slight description of the valley of Bairât.

The surface of the bottom of the valley itself is nearly as smooth as a bowling green or a parade ground, except where it has been turned up by the plough, or where portions of it are divided off by low mud walls and dykes, and also by the twistings and turnings of the bed of a small stream, which, as usual with all streams in India, has cut the ground up into deep nullas along its course.

The valley of Bairât forms the most perfect natural amphitheatre that I ever saw; and one can almost conjure

up in one's imagination some antique-looking martial host of Hindu warriors of ancient times, with chariots, archers and spearmen, marshalled in glittering array, and the war-chariots of royal princes and heroic chiefs, coursing hither and thither, on the smoothly level and spacious surface of this uniquely beautiful mountain-girded, amphitheatre-like valley plain. The valley is nearly circular, or rather perhaps oval-shaped, the diameter of it from east to west being perhaps greater than that from north to south; and it is encircled on all sides by hills which entirely close it in, except at two points,—namely, one on the north and one on the south side of the elevated, basin-like valley plain of Bairât. The pass of Bandrol enters the valley of Bairât from the south and south-east. It runs nearly straight, between two continuous parallel ranges of hills, and is very much like some long narrow glen in the Highlands of Scotland. There is a long and gradual but considerable ascent the whole way up this glen; and the rough road, or path, runs along the side of the rocky bed of a torrent, which was then dry, until one reaches the elevated valley of Bairât, into which there is a very slight and short, but somewhat sudden, descent over a low rocky ridge. Almost exactly on the further or opposite and northern side of the valley there is another pass, which enters the valley from the north and north-west, and the entrance to which is close to the eastern base of the Pândus' Hill. This latter pass leads out of the valley, at first northwards, and then turns north-westwards in the direction of Babero and Rèwari. There is also a third narrow pass, or chasm-like outlet, called the Bijak Ghât, which is partly paved like a causeway, and which goes out of the valley past the foot of the Bijak Pahar, immediately to the back and west of the town of Bairât.

The hills which encircle the valley of Bairât consist of three concentric ranges, the outermost range being the highest and the innermost the lowest. The innermost range is mostly composed of jagged piles of bare or denuded black basaltic and porphyritic rock. The second or central range is more rounded and bare-looking, and of a somewhat reddish or coppery colour. The third and outermost and highest range rises into somewhat lofty, hoary, grey crests and peaks, and is less bare, as the heights of this last range are here and there, but especially towards the western end of the valley, clothed with scrubby forest or jungle.

The valley of Bairât is probably between 4 and 5 miles in length from east to west, by between 3 and 4 miles in breadth from north to south, at its broadest part, but much less at each end.[1] The town of Bairât is situated at the eastern end of the valley, on a sort of raised terrace or platform, or slightly raised plateau, which is partly natural and partly artificial. Here there are also groves of trees surrounding the houses. A low, rounded, conical hill, called the Bijak Pahar, rises immediately at the back of the town.

The Pândus' Hill, with which I have here to do in particular, is a bare, black-looking, pyramidal-shaped, jagged-edged, peaked hill, which is composed entirely of enormous blocks of porphyritic and basaltic rock and hornblende gneiss, as if it had been built up by giants of supernatural power.[2] This extraordinary hill, or rather pyramid of black rocks, forms one of the inner volcanic-looking range which immediately surrounds the valley on three sides like a jagged black belt, or like the jagged ending of a large wide crater basin; and this is backed by another somewhat higher lumpy red-looking range of hills behind it; and the latter are again backed up by the crests of a higher and outermost range, of a mixed hoary grey and greenish hue, which rise beyond them. The famous Pândus' Hill is situated on the northern side of the valley, about a mile to the north-east from the town of Bairât, and close to the pass which leads out of the valley northwards. I have above stated that this pyramidal hill is composed of huge blocks of mixed hornblende gneiss and basaltic and porphyritic rock, but the rocks are varied in their composition by different combinations of gneiss, hornblende, schist, quartz, and basalt. The sharply-peaked summit of the hill is bifid, it being composed of two or three enormous blocks of black rock, standing on their ends, like huge ragged teeth, as it were, and in a slightly slanting position. Some of the huge blocks of which the hill is composed have apparently, at some very remote period, rolled down on to the slope at the foot of the hill. One of these blocks stands immediately in front of the hill, as one approaches it from the south. This great isolated

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1 General Cunningham estimates the diameter of the valley at about 2½ miles, but this is probably merely its *mean* diameter from north to south, as its greatest diameter is certainly somewhat more, and its length from east to west is also a little greater than its breadth from north to south.

2 This is the hill shortly referred to by General Cunningham in his notice of Bairât, Vol. II, p. 244 of the Archæological Report for 1864-65.

block of rock is as big as a house, and looks something like a great roughly-hewn cube; and there are some deep water-worn hollows, or indentations, on the perpendicular southern face of it, which, at a distance, looked almost like circular windows. It was on the lower part of the southern face of this huge block of rock that I found the two ancient inscriptions in characters of the period of Asoka. This great block of rock is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south. The largest inscription is engraved on the southern face of the rock, about 2 feet from its western end, and the lowest line of the inscription is at the height of about only 1 foot from the ground. The inscription itself is in eight lines; but as there are the defaced remains of several letters immediately above the first or top line, it is probable that the inscription may originally have consisted of nine lines. This inscription covers a space of about 3 feet in length by 2 feet 8 inches in height. About 1 foot 8 inches to the right or east side of this inscription, there is a smaller and apparently older inscription of six lines, which covers a space of 2 feet 6 inches in length by 1 foot 9 inches in height. The lowest line of this inscription is at the height of 2 feet 7 inches from the ground. The surface of the rock was so rough, and many of the letters were so defaced by the effects of weather, that I found it almost impossible to take impressions of the inscriptions; but after taking numerous impressions of the larger inscription, in parts, or separate pieces, I joined the best specimens of the different part impressions of the inscription together, with the greatest possible nicety and accuracy, so as to make a connected whole, and then forwarded it to General Cunningham. The inscription offered great difficulties in reading on the rock, according to the different lights and shadows in which the letters were viewed; and the impressions of the inscription, when taken, were equally difficult to read, or to make sense of, on account of the numerous marks and flaws and indentations on the rock, which, of course, appeared as strokes and lines and blots in the impressions of the inscription, as well as the letters; so that it was in some cases difficult to distinguish the one from the other.

[For Mr. Carlleyle's tentative reading, I now substitute the transcript given by Dr. Bühler, along with his translations of the two much more perfect texts of the same record at Sahasarâm and Rupnâth. The two

inscriptions mentioned by Mr. Carlleyle are really portions of one long inscription, of which the middle part has been lost by the abrasion of the rock.—A. C.]

TRANSCRIPT OF THE BAIRAT EDICT, BY DR. G. BÜHLER.

1—Devânam piye âhâ sâti [lekani] * * *sa* * * * *
2—vasânam ya haka upâsake n[o] cha badham * * *
3—am mamaya samghe papayite [ba] dham cha * * * *
4—Jambudipasi amisa-nam deva-hi * * *vi* * * *[pala] kamasi esa [pha] le*
5—[n]o hi ese mahat ane vachakaye * * *[pala] rumamimena ya* * * *pa*
6—vipulepi svamge [sa]kye aladheta[v]e * * * *[khuda] ka cha udala cha valakamatu ti*
7—amte pi janamtu ti chilathiti [ke] * * * * *[vi] pulam pi vadhisati.*
8—diyadhiyam vadhisati [u. phra.] 56.

TRANSLATION OF THE SAHASARAM VERSION.

"The Beloved of the Gods speaketh thus:—(It is) [more than thirty-two] years [and a half] that I am a worshipper (of Buddha), and I have not exerted myself strenuously. (It is) a year and more [that I have exerted myself strenuously]. During this interval those gods that were (held to be) true gods in Jambudvîssa have been made (to be regarded as) men and false. For through strenuous exertion comes this reward, and it ought not to be said to be an effect of (my) greatness. For even a small man who exerts himself can gain for himself great rewards in heaven. Just for this purpose a sermon has been preached: 'Both small ones and great ones should exert themselves, and in the end they should also obtain (true) knowledge. And this spiritual good will increase; it will even increase one (size) and a half, at least one (size) and a half.' And this sermon (is) by the departed. Two hundred (years) exceeded by fifty-six, 256, have passed since; and I have caused this matter to be incised on the hills; or where those stone pillars are, there too I have caused it to be incised.

TRANSLATION OF THE RUPNATH VERSION.

"The Beloved of the Gods speaketh thus: (It is) more than thirty-two years and a half that I am a hearer (of the law), and I did not exert myself strenuously. But it is a year and more that I have entered the community (of ascetics), and that I have exerted myself strenuously. Those gods who during this time were considered to be true (gods) in Jambudvîssa, have now been abjured. For through exertion (comes) this reward, and it cannot be obtained by greatness. For a small (man) who exerts himself somewhat can gain for himself great heavenly bliss. And for this purpose this sermon has been preached: 'Both great ones and small ones should exert themselves, and should in the end gain (true) knowledge, and this manner (of acting) should be what? Of long duration. For this spiritual good will grow the growth, and will grow exceedingly, at the least it will grow one (size) and a half.' And this matter has been caused to be written on the hills; (where) a stone pillar

is, (there) it has been written on a stone pillar. And as often as (man brings) to this writing ripe thought, (so often) will he rejoice, (learning to) subdue his senses. This sermon has been preached by the Departed. 256 (years have elapsed) since the departure of the Teacher.

I have now to mention a curious discovery I made in the ground immediately in front of the rock on which the inscriptions are, and close under the larger inscription. There were two large boulder stones half buried in the ground, directly under the larger inscription; and as the lowest line of this inscription was at the height of only 1 foot from the ground, I found the boulder stones very much in my way in standing to take an impression of the inscription. I consequently ordered my men to dig the earth away from the boulder stones, and then to roll them out of the way. The larger of the two boulder stones I found was 2 feet 6 inches in length by 1 foot 6 inches in height, and the other boulder stone was about 2 feet in length by 1 foot 6 inches in height. After these larger boulder stones had been removed out of the way, I found a layer of smaller boulder stones underneath them, amounting to perhaps half a dozen or more altogether. After removing these smaller stones I came to earth; and finding a small fragment of old pottery, I dug still deeper into the earth, and at a depth of about 2 feet below the original position of the bottom of the larger boulder stones, or about 2 feet 9 inches to 3 feet below the surface of the ground, I discovered four earthen vessels, which, on examination, I found to be cinerary urns containing human bones. These vessels were placed regularly in a line, all on the same level. Two of these earthen vessels were large and wide-mouthed; another was smaller or middle-sized, and had a narrow neck; and the fourth was very small, and very narrow-mouthed. Could it be possible that these cinerary urns and human bones might be in some way connected with the purpose of the inscriptions immediately above them? What seemed to me the most extraordinary circumstance was, that the boulders and stones which lay over the top of the cinerary urns appeared to be *in situ*, or in their natural position, like any of the numerous other boulders which were sticking in the ground round about; and I do not think that these stones were placed in the position in which I found them by any artificial means! I therefore believe that the boulder stones must have come into the position in which I found them, jammed against the

rock, by the agency of some powerful flood or current of water; and consequently that the cinerary urns and bones may be of very great and unknown antiquity.

I have also one item of information to give concerning the Bijak Pahâr, on which there are ruins of ancient buildings, and which is situated immediately behind the town of Bairât. In General Cunningham's Report on Bairât, at page 247, Vol. II. of the Archæological Report for 1864-65, he says that "the ruins had been dug into by the Mahârâja of Jaypûr without any discovery being made." But from enquiries which I made of the people at Bairât, I learnt that a gold casket had been discovered in some excavations which had been made by the orders of the Mahârâja; and I believe that this relic may very probably be still in the possession of the Raja of Jaypûr. It must, of course, have been a Buddhist relic casket; but I could not ascertain whether any relics had been found in it.

The ancient fortress belonging to the old or former city of Bairât is said to have been situated on a prominent high, grey-looking hill, to the south-east from the present town of Bairât; and the site of the ancient city itself is said to have extended from the base of that hill to the site of the present town.

A small stream, called the Bandrol River, but which was dry when I was there, runs from the valley of Bairât southwards through the pass of Bandrol; and a larger stream, called the Bairât River, runs from the valley northwards, through the northern pass which leads to Kakero and Babero.

To the east side of the Pândus' Hill there are numerous small domed buildings, which are tombs,—that is to say, they are erections over the ashes of Hindus of consequence, who have been burnt on that spot for many generations past. Some of them, however, are evidently *satti maṭhs.* The oldest of these funeral buildings are in ruins, and some have even been levelled to the ground; while the more recent ones appeared to be kept in repair. In one of the more recent of these funeral domed buildings I found a long inscription on a slab of black schist dated *Samvat 1743.* It indicated a *satti.* Below the inscription, in a niche in the interior side of the back wall, there was a sculpture, which exactly resembled the usual representation of the *Kâlka Avatâr* of Vishnu, but which was evidently the symbol of a *satti*, as

I found similar sculptures in several other of these domed buildings. My opinion is that this figure of a horseman, riding on a horse, which has sometimes several heads, although generally only one, really originally represented the *Kâlka Avatâr*, and that it has been appropriated as a symbol of *satti;* and I think that it therefore originally indicated a belief in a future state (or resurrection?) and the coming again of Vishnu on the "white horse" in the *Kâlka Avatâr*, as the saviour and judge of the world.[1] In the one particular sculpture referred to above, the horse appeared to have more than one head. There was a figure standing in front of the horse, with joined hands, in an attitude of adoration, and the sun and moon were displayed overhead. The interior of this building had been beautifully ornamented with painting on stucco, in bright colours, representing floral devices and ornamental vase-shaped vessels.

On the eastern edge of the Pandus' Hill there is a very ancient ruined building, with a conical roof (probably the remains of a temple), built of very large bricks, which measured 1 foot 6 inches, and some of them even more, in length, by 2 inches in thickness. I there found an oval-shaped slab of mica schist, with the figure of a serpent sculptured on it in relief, which must evidently have been an object of Nâga worship.

The ancient village of Kakero, which I before mentioned in connection with the larger Bâirat inscription, is situated between 8 and 9 miles by the road, or about 7 miles as the bird flies, to the west-north-west from Bairât. It is now a small village, but it is said once to have been a larger place. As I before remarked, the great mound at Kakero is probably partly composed of the debris of ancient buildings. The temple, which is now situated on the top of the mound, is a large building in a walled enclosure; and the great size of this temple is quite out of all proportion to that of the present small village beside it. The temple at Kakero is said to be a place of pilgrimage.

There is another village called Chitauli or Chetâwali, situated about 4 or 5 miles to the north-west of Bairât, which appears to be an old place; and I would venture a conjecture that the name of this place may be a corruption of *Chityâlaya*, which would mean the place of the *Chaitiyas!*

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[1] According to my information the horseman on these *sati* pillars simply shows that the deceased man was a horseman, or cavalry soldier.—*A. Cunningham.*

Some distance beyond Babero (which lies about 12 miles to the north-west from Bairât) there is a beautiful valley, forming the entrance to a pass through a range of hills, and which is called the valley of Triveni Dhara, where there is a temple on a conical hill, near the banks of a river which comes down from the pass, where it forms a *triveni*, or a meeting with two other streams. This must be about 18 miles to the north-west from Bairât. A little farther up the pass there is a place called Saiwar, where there is an old fort called Sipar, on the top of a hill, belonging to the Shekhâwat Rajas of Madaurgarh.

After gaining the summit of the Triveni Pass, which is a long and continual ascent, one comes out on the northern side of the hills; and one then finds one self in a high valley containing a beautiful natural lake of great extent, which is surrounded on two sides by most picturesque hill scenery. This large elevated mountain lake is well worth visiting. The whole scenery about this lake put me very much in mind of pictures which I had seen in books of the landscape scenery in the neighbourhood of Ladak. Ajitgarh lies immediately to the west of the lake.

12—DEOSA, OR DEVÂNASA, OR DAIVASA.

DEOSA is situated about 32 miles east from Jaypûr, to the south side of the high road which runs from Jaypûr to Agra. It is an ancient site, and the old form of the name of the place is said to have been *Dévansá* or *Daivasa,* probably meaning "Divine."

Deosa was originally a capital of the Rajas of the Badagûjar or Bargûjar tribe. Dûlha Rai, or Tej Karn, the expatriated son of a Kachhwâha Raja of Narwar, or Gwaliar, after having conquered the Mînas of Khogong, or Khoganw, obtained in marriage the daughter of the Bargûjar Raja of Deosa; and the latter dying without any male issue, Dûlha Rai became heir to his possessions, and thus laid the first foundation of the power of the Kachhwâha Rajas of Dhundhâr, Amber, and Jaypûr. This happened about A. D. 1127.

The principal and most striking feature about Deosa is its conspicuously isolated high rocky hill. This hill is somewhat narrow, and perfectly precipitous, or almost perpendicular, on its northern face. The eastern face is also steep, but there is a slope on its western face. The southern side of the hill, however, extends out for some distance, sending forth broken, rocky spurs, enclosing a deep, crater-shaped hollow. Indeed, it has every appearance of being the remains of the crater of an ancient extinct volcano.

High above, on the summit of the hill, there is a fort, which was originally founded by the ancient Bargujar Rajas; but there are very few remains of any buildings of their time, except some foundations. Any buildings standing, either entire or partly ruined, appeared to belong to the time of the Kachhwâhas, and did not seem to merit any special notice. There can be no doubt, however, that this must have been one of the most anciently fortified sites in Râjputâna.

The approach to the fort lies up a slope on the western side of the hill. The village of Deosa is situated on a rising ground to the west of the hill. On the gently sloping ground to the north of the foot of the hill, I discovered the remains of four stone circles, which I believe to have probably been the work of aborigines, during the archaic or pre-historic period.

The most westerly placed of these circles was about 24 feet in diameter. Eleven of its stones were in position, and three more stones had been rolled away out of place from the circle, on its south side. Of the eleven stones in position, six were on the northern curve of the circle, and three on its southern curve; and there were two stones standing together in the centre of the circle.[1]

The stones varied from three to four feet in height, and from two to three feet in thickness. Right across the northern part of the circle, an enormous monolith had fallen down which must once have stood erect in the centre of the circle, as I found another similar monolith still standing to the west-north-west of the village of Deosa. The great monolith lying prostrate across this circle I found by measurement to be about 21 feet in length, with a thickness, one way, of about from 2 to 2½ feet, but less the other way. This was a rude, rough, stone monolith, like the solitary so-called druidical "standing stones," or "*carraghs*," found in the British Isles.

About 300 feet to the east-north-east from the last-named circle, there were the remains of the stump of a very large ancient Pipal tree; and a portion of the bare, hollow, rotten trunk was lying on the ground beside it. There were two stones at 12 feet to the north of the stump of the tree, at an equal distance from it, and about 8 feet from one another; and there was another stone 12 feet to the south of the stump. These three stones may, perhaps, be the remnant of a circle which surrounded a sacred tree.

But it must be remembered that these remarks apply only to the period of my visit to Deosa, as it is possible that many of the stones may have been removed since then, and that there may not be a vestige of the old tree stump now. Twelve feet to the east of the old tree stump, there was another stone circle, with a very perfect cromlech in the centre of it. This circle measured about 24 to 25 feet in diameter. There were only seven of the stones of the circle in actual position; but these distinctly formed the curve of a circle, and were all at the same equal distance of 11 feet from the centre of the central cromlech. Four stones were in position close together, on the western curve of the circle, and three stones in position close together on the south-south-eastern curve of the circle.

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[1] See Plate XII for those aboriginal remains.

Four stones were lying outside of the circle, having been rolled out of their places by human agency. The stones of this circle measured, on an average, 2 feet by 3 in thickness, and about 3 feet in height, though one was more. The cromlech in the centre of the circle was 6 feet square, or 6 feet each side, and about 4 feet in height. Its four walls were composed of four rough slabs of stone, set up on end. The top of the cromlech was imperfectly covered by two narrow slabs of stone laid on and across it.

Close to the south-western side of this circle there were three large stones lying close together, the largest measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 3, and the other two somewhat less.

Another stone was lying 9 feet to the south-west from the three last named, and two stones were lying at the distance of 16 feet due east from the circle.

At the distance of only 2 feet to the north-east from the circle last described, there was another stone circle, 16 feet in diameter, of which six stones were standing in position, and formed a perfect curve. There had been a single standing stone, 5 feet in height, in the centre of this circle, but which had fallen down on its side. This circle had been composed of smaller stones than the rest, the six stones still standing measuring in thickness about 2 feet by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Lastly, at the distance of about 1,050 feet nearly due south from the circle last described, there was another, or fourth stone circle. This circle was composed entirely of quartz boulders, and it was nearly perfect; all the stones being present, and only a few displaced. This circle was composed of twenty-one stones, of which fifteen were in position, and six displaced. Of the six displaced stones, one lay just outside the line of the circle, and five lay inside of it.

The original diameter of the circle appeared to have been about 21 feet; but, owing to a few of the stones being displaced, I found the existing diameter of the circle, as it stood, to be 19 feet 10 inches, or 20 feet, one way, by 22 feet 6 inches another way.

Now, it will have been observed that, of these four circles, and a supposed fifth one, two, and a third supposed one, were 24 feet in diameter, another was 16 feet in diameter, and the quartz boulder circle was 21 feet in mean diameter. I wish to point out that there must have been a purpose and a meaning in these dimensions. I am one of the few who understand the signification of such measurements in a druidical or magian sense. A pillar in the centre,

in the one case, with a radius of twelve on either side of it,—the sun at the equinoxial dawn and twilight, separating the twelve hours of the night from the twelve hours of the day,—the pole or axis round which night and day revolve. In another case, we find a cromlech of 6 feet square, in a circle with a diameter of 24 feet, and a circumference of 72 feet. Here we have multiples of 6 and of 4:—4 times 6=24;—3 times 24=6 times 12=72. In the next circle we have a diameter of 16, with a circumference of 48, which are multiples of 4:—4 times 4=16, 4 times 12=48. In the northern circle we have a diameter of 21 with a circumference of 63 which are multiples of the sacred number 7 by the sacred number 3,—and, moreover, the circle in this case is complete, and is composed of 21 stones, which, again, presents a multiple of the sacred number 7 by the sacred number 3. Surely there is a meaning in all this!

A short distance to the north-east from the village of Deosa, and to the west of the stone circles, I found several cairns and a large mound of earth. In some of the cairns I found nothing; in others, or rather in the earth at the bottom of them, I found ashes, with a few fragments of calcined bone and a little charcoal; and in one or two instances I found rude stone implements. Of the last named, I may mention a flat piece of hard black stone, shaped exactly like the fragment of a sword blade, it having a sharp edge on one side, while the opposite one was thicker and blunt. This fragment was about 3 inches in length, by, I think, rather less than 2 inches in breadth, with a thickness at the thickest edge of about a quarter of an inch. I believe it to be a fragment of a stone knife or dagger. I also found a stone ball and a bulb-shaped or conical-shaped quartz implement, very thick at one end and sharp-pointed at the other—perhaps a rude borer.

The large earthen mound lay close to the south of the cairns. This mound was domical-shaped. It was about 12 feet in height, with a breadth of about 53 feet from north to south, and a length of about 100 feet. I excavated this mound and found it to be entirely sepulchral.

It was full of human remains, in various conditions. The mound might be said to contain five different successive stratifications. The uppermost or top stratum consisted of black earth, containing fragments of pottery. The next stratum below that consisted of brown earth mixed with ashes, and a few fragments of rude, ancient pottery. The third

lower stratum contained an immense quantity of human remains imbedded in brown earth.

The greater portion of the human bones were contained in roundish-shaped earthen vessels, which were covered with lids at top. But these earthen vessels had become so fragile from great age, that it was not possible to get any of them out without breaking to pieces. They might be called cinerary urns, as the human bones which they contained appeared to have been partially affected by action of fire. The bones were exceedingly friable, and appeared to have lost all traces of animal matter, and were evidently very ancient. There were also several loose detached bones and fragments of pottery throughout this stratum.

The fourth lower stratum was composed of sand mixed with human bones. In this stratum, also, I found the shank bone and jaw of an animal, apparently of a horse. But it must have been of small-sized breed. The shank bone was very heavy and solid, as if half petrified. A few flakes of flinty quartzite were also found in this stratum.

The fifth and lowest stratum of all, forming the base of the mound, appeared to be composed of common earth, of the some nature as the soil around.

A short distance to the west, or rather west-north-west, from the village of Deosa, I found a huge, rude monolith still standing erect. This stone was 15 feet in height from the ground to its top. But it must once have been still higher, as the original top of the stone had been broken off, and was lying on the ground beside it. This fragment was 4 feet in length, so that the original height of the stone must have been 19 feet. This "standing stone" was steadied in the ground by four or five stones which were jammed in round its base. This great standing stone had more the appearance of a huge, rough slab than a pillar; for it measured about 2 feet in breadth one way, while it only measured about 11 inches in thickness the other way.

From a place called Bhânranér, about 2 miles to the south of Deosa, I got a beautiful monumental *Satti* sculpture, in white marble. It represented a warrior on horseback, with a spear in his hand. There was an inscription, in a curious form, of Nagri character, on the base of the sculpture.

13—NAÏ, OR NAIN.

The site of Naï, or Nain, an ancient capital and stronghold of the Minas, is situated about 7 miles north-west from Lavân, and about 20 miles south-west by south from Deosa. It is seated in the very heart of a range of high hills, and is so completely hidden and concealed, that it would require a long and laborious search for a perfect stranger to find it out without the help of a guide. The actual site of the place, which is called *Naï* by the natives, is in a narrow mountain gorge, the mouth of which opens into a broken amphitheatre surrounded on all sides by a wall of savage-looking hills. There are only two passes of entrance into this mountain fastness,—one on the east and the other on the south-west. The whole surface of the interior of the basin of the amphitheatre bears an appearance as if the earth had been tumbled up into billowy heaps and hollows by an earthquake; for it is simply a conglomeration of hillocks and deep ravines, a broken-up basin, surrounded by a circular wall of lofty hills, which hem it in. The bed of a mountain torrent runs down the gorge of Nain, and from thence winds about among the inequalities of the broken basin of the amphitheatre, until it joins the bed of a small river which runs through the valley, but which is dry at all other times, except during the rains.

The fortified portion of the town of Nain was evidently situated within the gorge before referred to; and the citadel, or strongest part, was retired within the innermost angle at the head of the gorge; while the houses of the commoner people were no doubt situated among the broken hillocks and ravines on a sloping rising ground at the mouth of the gorge. From the narrow head, or *cul de sac*, of the gorge, at its upper termination among the mountains, there was, however, a most excellent way of escape for the inhabitants, if hard pressed,—namely, up the bed of the torrent before mentioned, which runs down through long, narrow, winding valleys from and between the summits of the mountains.

Of Nain itself hardly anything now remains, except the remnant of an ancient fortification wall built across the mouth of the gorge, and which also runs a short distance up the sides of the hills on each side; and also of a second

wall which runs in a similar manner across the inner portion of the gorge, at the distance of about 600 feet within and beyond the first or outer wall, and there are also the sites of a few stone buildings scattered here and there. The dimensions of the area of that portion of the city of Nain which was defended and shut in by the *outer* wall, I found to be about 1,060 feet in breadth, across the gorge at its entrance, and about 1,500 feet in length backwards, up the gorge.

The gorge runs in a north-north-westerly direction, and the outer wall runs from the hill on the western side of the valley in an east-north-east-easterly direction (or about 15° north of east) for about 900 feet, and then turns at right angles northwards to form the gateway, from which a second extension of wall runs for upwards of 200 feet north-east 15° north towards the hill on the eastern side.

When I arrived at Lavân and enquired for Nain, the people did not seem to know anything of a place bearing the latter name, and at first professed ignorance of it; but I found eventually that this was because I pronounced the name of the place as *Nain*; for a man at last happened to say that he knew a place about 3 *kôs* distant from Lavân called *Naï*, the terminal letter *n* (if it exists in the word at all) being either silent, or else pronounced with such an indistinct nasal sound as to be not recognisable.

Nain, or Naï, is said to have been deserted for the last five hundred years.

About 350 feet from the western side of the mouth of the gorge of Nain, within the outer wall and touching it, there is a large temple, the conical spire of which becomes conspicuous immediately after one enters the valley from the east. This temple, however, although founded in ancient times, is now, in most of its parts, a comparatively modern structure. The temple is surrounded by a large modern walled enclosure, which was built by Thâkûr Amar Singh, a fine old Rajpût gentleman of the Kuhan tribe, who holds Bansko and Naï under the Kachhwâhas of Jaypûr. There are certain portions of the inner temple itself, however, which are old; and the pillars of the vestibule of the temple itself are decidedly old, and of the same style as the square side pillars in the ruins of the principal ancient temple on Uncha Pahar, but at Naï they are patched, and everything is so covered with whitewash as to be almost unrecognisable.

I made a plan of the temple to accompany that of the site of Nain.

An inscription is said formerly to have existed here, but I could not find any, nor did the Pujâris of the temple know of any. In fact, the Pujâris denied the existence of any inscription; but a person at Lavân told me that he had seen an inscription at Nain some years before.

A great fair, or *mela*, is held annually at this temple; and this fair is the only thing in the whole year which breaks the savage solitude of the wild and desolate valley of Nain. There is absolutely not a single living human soul in the whole valley, with the exception of the Pujâris of the temple; and there is nothing to disturb the solemn stillness of the night here, except the ventriloqual churring of the *chapka*, or "night-jar."

About 500 feet within the second inner wall, and on the eastern side of the upper part of the gorge, there is the site of a large mass of building, about 158 feet square, which is raised on a sort of made platform which projects from the side of the gorge. This is the site of the palace of the ancient Mina Rajas of Nain. Nothing now remains of the buildings, except the ruined and dilapidated, empty, roofless walls.

The three most remarkable places I have seen in India are the valley of Bairât, the valley of Naïn, and the valley, or rock-bound basin, of the Ana Sagar, between Visalpûr and Raj-Mahal, in a chasm or gorge which divides the lofty hill range of Girwar, which latter will be afterwards described.

The Pujâris of the temple at Nain repeated to me the following old popular saying respecting the limits and extent of the dominion of the Mina Rajas of Nain in ancient times:—

> "*Chappan kôt, bawan darwâzè,*
> *Ja men rahe Naï ka Râjè.*"

> "There were fifty-six forts and fifty-two gates,
> Where the Raja of Naï did hold his state."

It is certainly a somewhat puzzling statement which makes the number of forts greater than the number of

gates![1] Tod, however, gives a somewhat different version of this traditional saying, as follows[2]:—

> "*Bawan kote, chapan durwâza,*
> *Myna murd, Naén ka Râja,*
> *Booroo râj Naén ko,*
> *Jub bhoos men bhutto mango.*"

Which I would translate as follows:—

> "There were fifty-two forts and fifty-six gates,
> To the Mina man, who was Nain's Raja.
> 'Twas a sorry time for the realm of Nain,
> When they were glad to beg their share of chaff."

I think this is a better rendering than that of Tod, which is as follows:—

> "There were fifty-two strongholds and fifty-six gates belonging to the manly Myna, the Raja of Naén, whose sovereignty of Naén was extinct, when even of chaff (*bhoos*) he took a share."

To this Tod adds, in an explanatory note, that

> "Kote is a fortress; but it may be applied simply to the number of bastions of Naén, which in the number of its gates might rival Thebes. Lowain, built on its ruins, contains three thousand houses, and has eighty-four townships dependent on it."

But having myself personally visited the place (which apparently Tod did not), I can say that there are only three bastions to the outer wall of Nain now standing; and that there is only one gate to the outer wall at the mouth of the gorge, and one gate through the inner wall farther up the gorge; and therefore the "fifty-two forts" cannot possibly have referred to the number of "bastions," and the "fifty-six gates" cannot possibly have referred to those of Nain itself, as I found it. The "fifty-two forts" must consequently have referred to the actual number of forts, or fortified places, in the possession of the Mina tribe, whose capital only was at Nain; and the "fifty-six gates" must refer to fifty-six passes, or places of entrance, into the whole territory which belonged to the Mina Rajas, who had their capital at Nain.

Tod, however, fell into a great error in a statement which he made in the note above quoted, for he speaks of "Lowain, built on its ruins,"—that is, on the ruins of Nain; and he repeats the same mistake a little further on, where he says that when the Kachhwâha chief, Bâharmal, "destroyed the

[1] [I take *kot* in these verses to mean "towers or bastions."—A. C.]
[2] "*Rajasthan,*" Vol. II., p. 349.

Meena sovereignty of Naén, he levelled its half hundred gates, and erected the town of Lowain (now the residence of the Rajawat chief) on its ruins." By the name corruptly spelt as *Lowain*, I presume Tod meant the town of *Lavân*. But Lavân is a comparatively modern town, situated in the open plain; while the site of Nain is situated 7 miles distant, to the north-west from Lavân, and in a narrow gorge, in the centre of a range of hills! The two places are totally distinct, Nain being the ancient deserted site of the capital, or rather the hill fastness, of the Minas; while Lavân is a modern town, which was probably founded by the Kachhwâha Rajas of Amber, Dhundâr, and Jaypûr!

There is another local popular saying, which I picked up on the spot, concerning the contentions for supremacy between the old Mina masters of Nain and the encroaching Kachhwâhas of Dhundâr:

"*Dhundâr ke do dhani—ke Jay Sinh, Jag Râm.*
Woto man mahâvali; wo duja Bhagwân."

"Dhundâr has two masters—either Jay Sing or Jag Ram. The one a great spiritual saint, and the other a divinity."

The above refers to Jag Râm, who was a Mina Raja of Nain.

There can be no doubt that the Minas once held great power and very extensive possessions in this part of the country. I quote the following from Tod's "*Annals of Amber*," "*Rajasthan*," Vol. II, page 349:—

"We have already had frequent occasion to observe the tendency of the aboriginal tribes to emerge from bondage and depression, which has been seen in Mèwar, Kotah, and Boondí, and is now exemplified in the rise of the Kachhwâhas in Dhundâr. The original, pure, unmixed race of Meenas, Mynas, or Mainas, of Dhundâr, were styled Puchwarra, and sub-divided into five grand tribes. Their original home was in the range of mountains called *Káli-Kho*, extending from Ajmér nearly to the Jumna, where they erected *Ambèr*, consecrated to *Amba*, the universal mother, or, as the Meenas style her, *Ghatta Rani*, 'Queen of the pass.' In this range were Khogong, Mauch, and many other large towns, the chief cities of communities. But even so late as Raja Baharmal Kachhwâha, the contemporary of Baber and Humayun, the Meenas had retained or regained great power, to the mortification of their Rajpût superiors. One of these independent communities was at the ancient city of Naén, destroyed by Baharmal, no doubt with the aid of his Mogul connexions. * * * * Certainly from Pujoon, the vassal chieftain of Prithi Raj, to Baharmal, the contemporary of Baber, the Kachhwâhas had but little increased their territory."

In reference to the above, however, I may here remark that Tod is mistaken in connecting the name of Amber

with that of *Amba*, "the universal mother," or, as he does in another place, with *Ambikeswara*, a title of Siva; for General Cunningham, in his report on Amber,[1] plainly shows that its name was derived from *Ambarisha*, or *Ambarikha*, the son of Mândhâta, a king of Ayodhya, and that the old name of the place was *Ambarikhanèra*.

Tod further remarks, with regard to the Mina race, that

"a distinction is made in the orthography and pronunciation of the designation of this race: *Myna*, or *Maina*, meaning the *asil*, or 'unmixed classes,' of which there is now but one, the *Oosarra;* while *Meena* is that applied to the mixed, of which they reckon *bara pal*, or twelve communities descended from Rajpût blood, as Chohan, Tüar, Jadoon, Purihar, Cuchwaha, Solanki, Sankla, Ghelote, etc., and these are sub-divided into no less than five thousand two hundred distinct clans, of which it is the duty of the Jaéga, Dholi, or Dhoom, their genealogists, to keep account. The unmixed Oosarra stock is now exceedingly rare, while the mixed races, spread over all the hilly and intricate regions of Central and Western India, boast of their descent at the expense of 'legitimacy.' These facts all tend strongly to prove that the Rajpûts were conquerors, and that the mountaineers, whether Kolés, Bhíls, Mynas, Goands, Sairias or Sarjas, are the indigenous inhabitants of India."

Tod further adds, in a note, that

"'*Pal*' is the term for a community of any of the aboriginal mountain races; its import is a defile, or 'valley,' fitted for cultivation and defence. It is probable that Polygar may be a corruption of Paligar, or the region (*gar*) of these *Pals*. Palita, Bhilita, Philita, are terms used by the learned for the Bhíl tribes. Maina or Myna, Maira, Mairote, all designate mountaineers, from *Mair*, or *Mèr*, a hill."

But *Mèr*, or *Meirr*, does *not* mean a *hill*, but simply a *ridge*.

Pâtalwâs is the site of an old deserted town or village, of which mounds and a few fragments of ruins remain. It is situated about 4½ miles north-west from Lavân, and about 2½ miles south-east from Naï, or Nain.

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[1] See General Cunningham's Archæological Report for 1864-65, Vol. II, page 250.

TEKANPÛR, TEKHANPÛR, OR TEKKANPÛR.

Tekkanpûr is a large village near the site of Pâtalwâs, and situated about 2 miles south-east from Nain. I have reason to believe that it must have been founded by, or at least received its name from, a colony of the *Teks* or *Taks*, a numerous tribe in the Punjab, some of whom may have accompanied the Jats and Gujars, and other colonies of cognate races.

Bhat ka Dungr is the name of a circular hill fort, situated at the top of a high, isolated, conical hill, about 2 miles south-west from Nain. The Bhattis, who constructed this place of defence, were a tribe of robbers; and the circular fortlet on the pinnacle of the peaked conical hill was simply a fastness to which the robbers retired when pursued.

14.—CHATSÛ.

CHATSÛ is a large and very ancient town, situated about 35 miles south-west from Deosa, and about 25 miles south from Jaypûr.

It was originally first called *Tambavati Nagara*, and is said to have been founded by *Gandharp Sen* (or *Gandharba Rupa?*), whom the local traditions of the place make to have been the father of *Vikramâditya* of Ujjain, and also of another son called *Bhartri*. It is somewhat remarkable that the local traditions of the place respecting this Vikram-âditya of Ujjain (the existence of whom has been so often disputed) agree with the traditions collected by Wilford and Tod. The city is said to have been, at that early period, surrounded by a *wall of copper*, whence its name of *Tambavati*.

The place was next called *Paohpa-vati*, and is said to have been so named after a raja, *Paohpa*.

The next and third name which the place received was *Champavati*, which the pandits of Chatsû say was alone the real and true Champavati mentioned in the Purânas. At that time Raja Chandra Sena was reigning, and had his capital here,—probably the same as the Chandra Sena who re-founded Chandravati (near Jhâlra Patan).

Lastly, the name of the place was changed to *Chatsû*, and it is said to have been so called after a raja of the Grahilot or Gehlot tribe, from whom the Sisodias of Udaypûr sprang.

I found a Kutila inscription of twenty-six lines on a broken black stone built into the side wall of the steps leading down into a great tank at Chatsû, at the bottom of which this inscription was found about seventy or eighty years ago; and in this inscription mention is made of a raja, *Sri Siva Jajê Guhila*, who appears to have lived between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

At one time Chatsû belonged to the Sisodias, or Guhilas, of Chitor, and afterwards of Udaypûr; but they lost possession of it, or rather forsook it, in later years, when the Kachhwâhas took possession of it. The Sisodia Raja of the time is said to have forsaken Chatsû in dread of a curse which had been pronounced against it, to the effect that "no one henceforth should ever enjoy the revenue of Chatsû." But, nevertheless, the Kachhwâhas of Jaypûr, of the present

day, appear to draw the revenue of Chatsû regularly, maugre all curses. In connection with the forsaking of Chatsû by the Sisodia Ranas of Udaypûr, there is the following popular saying:—

> "*Rana chhoré Chatsû;*
> *Jo chaya so lé.*"
> "The Rana has forsaken Chatsû;
> Whoever wants may take it."

The great tank on the west side of the town of Chatsû is said to have been the original *Pushkar*, or "holy tank," previous to the transference of that sanctity to the place now called Pushkar, near Ajmèr.

The great tank of Chatsû was originally surrounded in ancient times by numerous temples—some say as many as eighty-four—which were all destroyed by the Muhammadans, according to the local traditions, under Mahmood Ghori (by whom, I suppose, Nasir-ud-din Mahmûd is intended), but more probably, I should say, by Ala-ud-din Muhammad Khilji; and on every razed site of a temple the Muhammadans invariably erected a wretched little mosque, or rather *masid*, or praying place.

There is only one really old temple now standing in all Chatsû, and that is a small temple, with an ornamented conical spire, on the south-west side of the town; but there are no pillars in this temple and no inscription.

I, however, found that two different successive periods of destruction had swept away the temples of Chatsû and its neighbourhood—namely, first under the Pathâns, as before mentioned, and afterwards, in the time of that fanatic Mughal, Aurangzib Alamgir. The latter fact was made evident to me by finding a beautiful white marble Jain pillar, standing erect under a domed canopy, in the enclosure of a fortified temple, on a hill called *Shiv Dungr*, about 2 miles to the north of Chatsû, and on which there were numerous short inscriptions, one of which was dated *Samvat 1706*, equivalent to A. D. 1649, at which time the politic and conciliatory Shah Jahân was reigning. This pillar has an octagonal shaft, with a square base and a square capital, surmounted by a cone capped by an inverted cup. The octagonal shaft is divided into nine sections by projecting bands, and each section has eight small human figures in small niches sculptured on it, one on each of the eight faces of each sectional interspace: a band of

sitting and a band of erect figures occurring alternately; so that there are nine times eight, or seventy-two, small statuettes sculptured in relief on the shaft alone; add to which four erect figures, one on each of the four sides of the square capital, and also the same number, originally of sitting figures, one on each of the four sides of the square base, which make a total of eighty small sculptured human figures on this marble Jain pillar altogether, they being representations of the various *Tirthankaras*, or divine teachers, of a certain sect of Jains. But not one of these figures is perfect; the face or features of every single one of them has been carefully chipped off or disfigured by the hands of Muhammadans. The abdominal portion of most of the figures has also been similarly injured; and also little miniature pillars, sculptured in relief, which ornamented the corners of each of the eight faces of each alternate sectional band of sitting figures, have been similarly chipped off. There are also two other broken pillars of the same kind lying on the ground, near the former, which have been defaced in a like manner.

Now, it is very unlikely that these sculptures could have been defaced by Muhammadans, immediately after their completion, too, in the time of the politic Shah Jahân; and there can be very little doubt, therefore, that the destruction of these sculptures, and also of several other ruder sculptures of older date, which I found lying in the enclosure of the same temple, must have been effected during one of the warlike expeditions of the intolerant Aurangzib.

On the other hand, the black stone with the Kutila inscription in twenty-six lines, previously mentioned, was broken and thrown into the great tank of Chatsû, when the older temples were destroyed by the invading Muhammadans, either in the time of Nasir-ud-din Mahmûd *Ghori*, or of Ala-ud-din Muhammad *Khilji*.

Chatsû is situated on a rising ground, or mound, of little elevation, but which is conspicuous from its being situated in the midst of a level plain, from which no other so conspicuous elevation rises, with the exception of the rather lofty conical rocky hill of Shiv Dungr, before mentioned, about 2 miles to the north from Chatsu, and which is about 600 or 700 feet in height, and another long-shaped hill of less elevation, on which there is a large modern white-washed temple dedicated to Mâta Devi, about 4 miles to the north-east from Chatsû.

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The lower or deeper portion of the rising ground on which Chatsû is situated is probably a natural elevation; but the whole of the upper portion and sides of it are evidently composed of the débris accumulated from former and continuous inhabitation for many centuries past, in the same manner as similar accumulations formed the ancient mounds of Mathura. Indeed, Chatsû is also closely surrounded by numerous detached mounds formed by débris, many of which, I think, would be well worthy of the labour of excavation.

As there is a somewhat sunken space which nearly encircles the rising ground on which Châtsu stands, and as this sunken space is again surrounded beyond by a circle of numerous detached mounds, I think it highly probable that these features betoken that Chatsû was originally surrounded by a belt of water artificially formed, which was again encircled beyond by extensive earth-work fortifications.

The northern and north-eastern sides of Chatsû are still shut in by a sort of retaining buttress wall formed of large loose stones; but it is evidently of modern formation, as there are numerous detached sculptures and fragments of ancient buildings built into the wall in a hap-hazard and heterogeneous manner. Indeed, this wall may be said to have been partly built up out of the fragments of the ruins of ancient buildings I examined a great number of the sculptured fragments which I found built into this wall, and I found that the majority of them appeared to be of middle age, or to belong to the middle period which just immediately preceded the influences caused by the forcible transfer of the supreme power to the first Muhammadan sovereigns of Delhi; while, on the other hand, I found that the worn condition of certain other fragments and the style of the sculptures on them betokened a much greater age.

There are, of course, also many ancient bricks among the débris at Chatsû. The following are the dimensions of those which I measured: length, 1 foot 6 inches; breadth, 10 inches; thickness, 2½ inches.

Chatsû is an antique-looking place, piled up on the top of a mound, with narrow streets and high houses. It at present contains about 2,600 houses, which, allowing an average of about five persons to each house, would give a population of about 13,000. But I think that about 15,000

would more correctly represent the actual population of Chatsû.

The majority of the population are Brahmans; it is essentially a Brahman town, but the greater portion of these Brahmans are engaged in agriculture. They are mostly of the Gaur tribe.

The next in importance as to numbers are the Banias, about one-half of whom are of originally Rajpût or Kshatriya origin, and of whom a considerable number are attached to some one form or other of the Jain, or Sraogi,[1] religion; and the remainder of the Banias are of the Vaishya caste.

The Gujars and Muhammadans form the next important elements in the population. The Gujars may probably form about one-eighth and the Muhammadans about one-tenth part of the population.

The remainder of the population is composed of the inferior castes, such as the cloth and rope makers, the Chamârs and Bangis.

With regard to the weights and measures, ancient or modern, in use in Chatsú, I may state that I ascertained that the old seer weight formerly in use was equal in weight to forty of the present Jaypûr pice; but this is now disused. Formerly, however, all corn and all grain were sold by a measure which was equal, as to weight, to two of the old seers above mentioned.

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[1] The classical mode of spelling this word would be *Shráwaki*, but it is invariably pronounced *Sraogi* by the common people everywhere.

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15.—SHIV-DUNGR.

Shiv-dungr is, as I before mentioned, the name of a steep, conical, rocky hill, about 700 feet in height, on which there are temples, about 2 miles to the north of Chatsû. This hill is steep on all sides, with the exception of the south side, which runs out into a long sloping foot, on which there are the traces of some very ancient settlement, consisting of mounds, the remains of a foundation of some ancient brick building, and the remains of the foundation of a small circular stone building. There is a small modern village at the south-west side of the foot of the hill called Kutakpûr. This hill is surrounded by what appears at a distance like a combination of a fortress and a temple, the real fact being that the summit of the hill is surrounded and enclosed by a crenelated wall, with towers or small bastions at each corner. But it is nevertheless not a fortress, but simply a sort of fortified temple enclosure. The present temple buildings are modern, but from the fact that there are several fragments of old pillars and sculptured stones lying about, it is evident that much older and finer temples than the present once occupied the summit of this hill; moreover, there are several old fragments, such as sculptured stones and images, built into the walls of the modern buildings. On several of these old fragments of former buildings there are inscriptions, but these inscriptions are all of comparatively modern date, none of them being older than the fifteenth century, and some of even much more recent date; but it is my opinion that these inscriptions are of considerably more modern date, or of more recent execution, than some of the sculptured stones on which they are found, which have an antique and weather-worn appearance. The oldest readable date in any of these inscriptions is *Samvat 1540*, but I feel certain that some of the fragments of old sculptures which I saw there must be as old as the twelfth century. But there was one sculpture in particular, built into the left jamb of the door of the present temple, on which there is a representation of two antique-looking human figures standing under a double-topped umbrella, and which I would be inclined to attribute even to a Buddhist origin, although the sculpture may be simply of early Jain execution.

The buildings now standing within the enclosure consist, firstly of a temple, of which the vestibule and the sanctum evidently did not originally belong to each other, but were built at different times, and by different hands, though both are evidently of comparatively modern date. The vestibule of the temple must, I should say, from its style, have been built by Jains though it now contains a huge rude lingam of Mahadeo. Into the outer walls of this vestibule there are a few old sculptures built in, two or three of which are of the common or usual Hindu style, but the remainder are Jain and Vishnavite; and, as I before remarked, there is one old sculpture built into the left jamb of the door-way which has quite a Buddhist appearance. The jambs, or sides of the door-way, are entirely composed of ancient sculptured stones. The walls of the interior of this vestibule of the temple have been highly ornamented with paintings in rich colours. Behind the present lingam of Mahadeo there is a large mass of carved white marble, which I am certain must once have formed either the upper rim, or edging, or backing, of the pedestal of some huge Jain statue. The sanctum of this temple is, on the contrary, in the common Hindu style, and of conventional Hindu workmanship. It is surmounted by a conical or elliptical-shaped spire, ornamented with side pinnacles, but the ornamental work on its exterior is entirely done in plaster. There are, however, a few ancient sculptures of small size, built into the walls of the sanctum, both interiorly and exteriorly. It contains simply a small marble lingam and bull. The temple enclosure is entirely surrounded by cloisters interiorly.

Besides the above, there are four Jain *chatris*, each of which consists of an octagonal base surmounted by a dome resting on pillars. The largest of these Jain *chatris* is in a separate smaller enclosure at the northern end or extremity of the great temple enclosure. In the centre of this *chatri*, surmounted by a domed canopy, stands the beautiful white marble Jain pillar, dated *Samvat 1706*, which I have already described in my account of Chatsû. As I have therefore already given a sufficiently full description of this Jain pillar, I will simply here add that, of the eighty small human figures, or statuettes, in niches, sculptured on the sides of this pillar, seventy-three have short inscriptions accompanying them, containing the name of each; and each inscription

[illegible] PUBLIC LIBRA

is accompanied by a number, in numerals. These numbers are as follows:—

2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 1, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23, 9, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 25, 35, 37, 39, 61, 63, 65, 67, 33, 50, 51, 59, 53, 56, 55, 54, 69, 58, 59; again, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 57, 66; again, 67; again, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 65; again, 75, 76 with 77, 74, 78 with 79, 80 with 81, 82 with 83, 85 with 86, 87 with 88, 73 with 76, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96 with 103, 89.

It will be seen that these numbers are irregularly placed; but their signification is somewhat obscure.[1]

There are two broken marble pillars, similar to that above described, lying on the ground, and they have also short inscriptions on them, which appeared to be exactly the same as those on the standing pillar. These broken pillars are composed of a sort of coarse whitish marble with bluish-green veins.

There is a small Muhammadan praying place within the wall of the temple enclosure, on the right hand side of the southern gateway as one goes out; and there is also the remains of a small Muhammadan mosque in ruins on a projecting ridge of the hill, outside the wall on the south side.

There are several gravel pits at the foot of the south end of the hill of Shiv-Dungr; indeed, the soil in the neighbourhood of this hill and around Chatsû generally, and from Chatsû north-eastwards towards a place 16 miles distant called Bassi, is composed of gravel. This gravel is formed of angular stones of flinty quartzite, and on the surface of this formation near Bassi I found a few fragments of rude stone implements and flakes. But at the gravel pits below Shiv-Dungr it is evident that something more valuable than gravel has been sought for by the native excavators; for there I found beds of quartz marked here and there with the efflorescence of gold, and which had evidently been quarried at some time in the hope of obtaining that metal. But besides these auriferous quartz beds, I also found beds of decomposed red hæmatite and hard micaceous red iron-clay, which is sometimes employed by the natives in the composition of a dull red colour used for painting wooden articles, called *hirmiji*.

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[1] As there are eighty numbers in all, including those that are twice recorded, it would seem that they must have reference to the eighty small figures in the niches.

16.—THODA, OR THORÈ.

THODA, or THORÈ, the ancient seat of the tribe of *Dhoda*, or *Dhorè*, one of the thirty-six royal races of India, is situated about 45 miles south-west from Chatsû, about 20 miles south-wêst by west from Tonk, and about 16 miles north from Deoli.

The present town is situated in a mountain gorge at the northern end of a range of very steep and lofty hills, which extends from Thoda to within about 4 miles of Deoli, and of which one continuous and unbroken portion, which extends a distance of 7 miles from Thoda to the Banâs River southwards, may be looked upon as one huge mountain, and as such it is called *Girwar* by the natives. At the northern end of the range, however, the present town of Thoda is partly hidden, or shut into a gorge or valley with three branches, by several outlying and partly isolated ridges and conical rocky eminences.

Correctly speaking, Thoda is situated at the north-east by northern foot of the great mountain mass of Girwar, and between it and a clump of outlying detached conical rocky eminences which rise in front of it, leaving a narrow valley or passage in the centre between them.

On approaching Thoda, one sees a big lumpy hill towering up in the background with a sort of advance guard of conical eminences thrown out in the foreground, the summits of two of which—one on each side—are crowned with temples, leaving a narrow vale or gorge between, from the centre of the hollow of which, immediately facing one, there rises the *sikar*, or conical spire, of the great temple of Thoda, the view being backed and closed in by the great mountain mass of Girwar, half-way up the slope of which one sees a long colonnade of a modern Jain temple; and the edges of the summit of the mountain are crowned by the remains of a fortification wall which extends thence for fully 6 miles southwards.

In former times, however, the town of Thoda was much larger than at present, and extended outside the mountain gorge towards the north, where it was defended by a *shahar panah* wall, which ran round like a bow, of which the curve was outwards, from a conical rocky eminence on the west to a rocky ridge on the east, and within which there are the sites or remains of numerous deserted buildings. Here one may still plainly distinguish the northern outer

gate of the city, outside of which there lies a great tank which is surrounded by innumerable shrines and *satti maths.* From this northern outer gate one passes through the comparatively wide and open enclosed space comprised within the outer wall, until one reaches the mouth of the gorge, where one enters a narrow rocky street lined with the ruins of deserted houses on either side, until one comes to the second or inner gate of the city, a few hundred feet within or to the south of which, and on the right side of the street, there stands the great temple with its lofty *sikar*, which is about one hundred and three feet in height, including the base. The gorge and the town along with it then take a turn to the left or east, and it is this part of Thoda which is now mostly inhabited; the inhabited portion of the town having, as it were, shrunk into the innermost corner of the gorge.

We have been, so far, ascending a gradual slope, up the narrow rocky street through which we entered—that is to say, the inner northern gate stands on a higher level than the outer northern gate, and the great temple stands on a higher level than the inner gate, while again the innermost inhabited part of the town stands on a higher level than the temple. There is a gate at the south-western side of the town, from which one passes out through another outlet of the valley into the open plain looking towards Baghera and Kekri.

There is also a small side gate to the north-west of the city which pierces a curtain wall between two rocky eminences; and there is also another small postern gate to the city at the eastern termination of the gorge, where the head of the gorge widens out in a sort of circular basin.

By measurements I found the area of that part of the deserted portion of the city which lies between the inner and outer northern gates (or between the inner and outer walls) to be about 1,700 feet square; and from the inner northern gate to the southern end of the city, 1,075 feet, and from the western side of the town to the small eastern postern gate, about 1,750 feet. Thus the total extent of the original city was an area of about 2,780 feet from north to south, by about 1,750 feet from east to west.

When Thoda belonged to the Sisodias, it is said to have contained about 52,000 houses, and was strongly fortified. At present, however, only about 400 houses are occupied, and the remainder of the town is entirely deserted.

The present population of the town numbers about 2,681 inhabitants. Mahâjan banias appear to form the majority of the population. The remainder of the population is composed of Gujars, whose occupation is keeping cattle, and a few Muhammadans, Chamârs, &c. The only Rajpûts in Thoda are the few who have been placed there in some official position or other by the Jaypûr Government, to which Thoda now belongs.

Thoda was originally founded by the Dhoda or Dhorè tribe, from whom the present name of the place, *Thoda*, or *Thorè*, is said to be derived.

Thoda next came into the possession of the Solankis, under Siddha Rai Solanki, in *Samvat 1131*. Tod, in his "Personal Narrative," *Rájasthán*, Vol. II, page 678, mentions that, in the traditional poems of the Solankis who occupied Thoda, it was called *Takitpura*, or *Takshakpura*, or the city of the *Takshak*, or *Snake*.

Tod calls this town *Tonk Thoda*, which name, I presume, distinguishes it from another Thoda, called *Bhim Thoda*, situated about 25 miles to the north of Mora, and about 18 miles to the south of Mhowa, in the Jaypûr territory.

In a note to the above, Tod remarks that

"Tonk Thoda is well worth visiting. The artist might fill a portfolio with architectural and picturesque sketches. Moreover, topazes of a good quality are found in its hills. The sacred cave of Gokurna, celebrated in the history of the great Chohan King, Beesaldeo of Ajmèr, is also worth notice."

The "cave of Gokurna" mentioned by Tod is, I fancy, the temple cave in the rock of the gorge opposite Visalpûr, about 7 miles to the south of Thoda, which I visited.

Tod speaks of Thoda as being "*on* the Banâs," but it is in reality about 4 miles distant from it.

Thoda passed out of the hands of the Solankis in *Samvat 1360*, when it was taken by the Chohans,—probably in the time of Hara Raja Chohan, who founded Búndi. On the extension of the power of the Kachhwâhas of Amber, they took Thoda from the Chohans, and held it for some years.

The possession of Thoda was next made over to the Sisodias by one of the Mughal emperors of Delhi. The following are the names of the Sisodia Rajas who held Thoda, as obtained from the Kânungo of Thoda:—

1. *Rai Sinh.*	5. *Anûp Sinh.*
2. *Man Sinh.*	6. *Shiv Sinh.*
3. *Maha Sinh.*	7. *Shimbû Sinh.*
4. *Pertab Sinh.*	8. *Dalail Sinh.*

Under the Sisodias the city of Thoda is said to have flourished considerably; indeed, it seems to have been almost rebuilt and much embellished by them. The Sisodias also built some palaces for themselves at a place called Raj-Mahal, prettily situated on the right bank of the Banâs River, at the southern end of the Girwar range, and about 7 miles to the south of Thoda.

Lastly, Thoda again came into the possession of the Kachhwâhas, in whose possession it has since remained.

But though Thoda is a place of undoubtedly ancient foundation, and has besides passed through the hands of so many different and successive possessors, and although perhaps two-thirds of it is now a mass of ruins, yet there is not a single really ancient building, nor a single ancient inscription, in the whole length and breadth of Thoda,—the only exception to this being the plinth or basement of the great temple, and perhaps a portion of another ruined temple in Thoda. It seems as if the successive possessors of the place had maliciously and with intent destroyed the works of their predecessors, replacing them with erections of their own, which were again destroyed by the next comers, and so on. Added to this, the Muhammadans also seem at one time to have taken their turn in the destruction of pre-existing memorials, and the finishing stroke was no doubt the taking of the place by Shah Jahân, who knocked down the fortifications. With reference to this latter event, there is a Persian inscription of the time of Shah Jahân on a slab of stone, which no doubt originally belonged to some Muhammadan mosque, but which was found under a tree covered with *saindûr*, or red-lead, and which is now built into the wall of the *Thanna* at Thoda. The following is a copy and translation of the inscription:—

• بدورِ شاہ جہان بادشاہ نمود پرداخت •

• برکت بعمل سید خان جہان جوہر ساخت •

• بان سالم کہ شد عمارتے موجود •

• زحضرت یک الف سالی چہل شش بود •

—"In the time of Shah Jahân Badshah, the manifestation of whose appearance in this place was effected through the auspicious good fortune of Sayad Khan Jahân in the year when this building was erected, namely, Hazrat 1046."

The oldest inscription I could find in Thoda was a Nâgari record in a Baori well, dated *Samvat 1604, Sakê 1469*. I got several other Nâgari inscriptions, among which there was another in a second Baori well, dated in *Samvat 1654*, which enters into such particular minutiæ as to give all the astronomical data of the time,—as, for instance, *Hast nakshatre dhati 37*. From a third Baori well I obtained another inscription dated *Samvat 1661*, and from a small temple of Gopi Nath in Thoda I obtained a short inscription dated *Samvat 1614*. Some intelligent people of the place said that they certainly knew that there had been more ancient inscriptions as well as more ancient buildings in Thoda, but that they had been all destroyed during the several invasions of those who had successively taken possession of the place. It will be seen that even the inscription of Shah Jâhan, before mentioned, had been displaced, and the stone turned into a sort of divinity by being covered with red-lead and placed under a tree.

The principal attraction of Thoda is the great temple, or rather a temple with a very lofty and beautiful *sikar*, which is in reality a very excellent and well-executed restoration of a much more ancient shrine.[1] The plinth or basement of this temple, which is the only part that is adorned with elaborate sculpture, though much patched and repaired, is nevertheless in other respects the actual plinth of the original temple which was built by the Solankis probably towards the close of the twelfth century. The doorway of the sanctum also, which is very beautiful, is of the same period. But the present *sikar*, or conical spire, of the temple, is said to have been built or restored by the queen or wife of Rai Sinh Sisodia. The height of the plinth and conical spire together, from the ground to the top of the *kalsa*, is about 103 feet. A very large but rudely executed portico, of which the pillars are very plain, was added to the temple, by subscription, by the pandits of Thoda in *Samvat 1874* (A. D. 1817); but, with the exception of the grand and lofty flight of steps which leads up to the portico, this addition anything but improves the appearance of the temple; indeed, it rather seems to mar the architectural beauties and hide the sculptures of the front of the temple itself, which was the joint work of the Solankis and the Sisodias. The plinth or base of the *sikar* is built of a dark greyish green-coloured micaceous porphyritic gneiss, a kind of stone in which no sculpture

[1] See Plate XIV for a plan of this temple.

of fine execution could be produced; but, nevertheless, it is elaborately sculptured. It commences with a plain square foundation basement. Then, above that, commences the base of the plinth, the outline of which is of an ogee shape, the centre of each of the four sides of which is ornamented by a pair of elephants with their trunks locked together, sculptured in bold relief. The plinth then decreases upwardly, in step-like fashion, and is ornamented by successive horizontal bands of sculpture. The lowest band consists of a row of crenelations. The second band consists of lions' heads. The third band consists of a row of elephants. The fourth band consists of a row of horses. The fifth band consists of a row of human figures. The sixth and uppermost band consists of a row of *Chokwas*, or Brahmani ducks. This last band of sculpture is about on a level with the floor of the interior of the sanctum, or perhaps reaches a little higher. In several places the plinth has been repaired by new stones being let in. This is the grand plinth of the original temple, which was built by the Solankis; and upon this plinth were raised the upper portion of the walls of the sanctum, and the lofty *sikar*, or conical spire, which were built as a restoration by the Rani of Rai Sinh Sisodia. The doorway, however, of the sanctum, which is the most beautiful work of the whole, was, as I said before, the work of the Solankis, and it is the actual doorway of the original temple. This doorway is composed of a hard and close-grained kind of green stone, which is highly polished, and has defied both the ravages of time and the destroying hands of the Muhammadans, who had evidently tried at some time or other, but without avail, to deface the sculptures. The whole of this highly polished and greenish-coloured stone doorway is ornamented from top to bottom with elaborate sculptures, consisting principally of human figures and figures of divinities sculptured in bold relief, in niches, panels, and compartments, between which are floral devices, very much after the fashion of the sculptures on the doorway of some fine old Roman Catholic cathedral. The sculptures on this beautiful doorway are all well and sometimes elegantly and gracefully executed. The majority of the figures in these sculptures evidently belong to the Vishnavite creed. The only figure which I could distinguish as not exclusively belonging to the Vishnavite creed was the figure of Ganesh.

This doorway is more lofty, and altogether of larger dimensions, than the doorways of most Hindu temples that I have seen; and thus afforded a pleasing surprise to me, as a contrast to the usually very low doorways, under which one has to stoop one's head, which one meets with in most Hindu temples. This doorway is 8 feet 7 inches in height, between the door-step and the lintel, or architrave, of the door, and 3 feet 8 inches in breadth between the jambs. But the door-step, or threshold, is the most extraordinary part of the whole doorway. It is 3 feet 2 inches in height, and would require a gymnastic stretch of the legs, or rather a leap, in order to get up on to it. But, moreover, the design of this doorway is very peculiar. The whole outer base of the threshold of the doorway is formed out of one enormous stone; and from the centre of it, and of one piece with it, there projects outwardly a sort of *truncated pillar*, or, as it were, a column cut off, and which is 3 feet 2 inches in height, or of the same height as the door-step, and 1 foot 3 inches in diameter, but projecting only 1 foot 1 inch from the door-step. This truncated pillar has a pretty base, wider than its short shaft, or about 1 foot 11 inches in diameter; and the top of the truncated shaft is smooth, and even or flush with the upper surface of the door-step. The shaft and base are both circular. On either side of this truncated pillar, and half way between it and the jambs of the doorway on each side, there projects a lion's head. These two sculptured lions' heads are, like the truncated pillar in the centre, carved out of one and the same huge stone which forms the door-step or threshold. As I had never seen anything exactly like this before attached to the doorway of a Hindu temple, I thought it worthy of special remark here. I imagine there must have been originally some mystic meaning attached to this single truncated pillar forming the centre of the lofty door-step leading into the sanctum of this temple. In stepping into this temple, one thus rests upon "unity," guarded by two lions' heads. The principal doorway or porch of the Temple of Solomon had two pillars,—namely, "Jachin" and "Boaz;" but here we have one single truncated pillar, on which a man must step before he can enter the temple. Does not the necessity of stepping upon this single pillar, before entering the sanctum of the temple, symbolise the necessity of a firm belief in the unity of the divinity before

entering a place dedicated to his worship? And here we have "unity" defended, on either side, by a lion's head; and the lion is the symbol of the power of Truth. It was as *Nara Sinha*, or the "man-lion," that Vishnu appeared, out of a pillar, as the defender and manifestator of Truth!

I have already said that it would be impossible for a man to ascend a door-step 3 feet 2 inches in height without making a leap, or, at least, vaulting up on to it by aid of the hands. For this reason the base of another pillar, about 8 inches in height, of the same kind of stone as the doorway, has been placed outside, in front of the door-step,—not quite exactly opposite the centre of the door-way, but a little to one side of the central truncated pillar, before described; and from this pillar base one can just manage to stretch one's leg up sideways on to the slippery surface of the door-step.

The *sikar*, or conical spire, of the temple, is built of a sort of greyish-whitish granitose quartzite, which is of a lighter colour than the stone of either the plinth or the doorway. The exterior sculptural ornamentation of the *sikar*, or spire, although plain, is very good, and in as much harmony with the plinth as could be expected in a restoration of this kind upon an older foundation; but it is nevertheless a very happy and well-executed restoration, and does full credit to the Sisodia architects.

The spire is an elliptical or parabolic cone, flattened on four sides, with four successive overlapping flattened conic pinnacles running up the centre of each side. It is surmounted by the usual massive, cog-wheel-shaped cap, from which rises the triple-ringed base of the *kalas*, which is formed like a cup and ball, terminating with a spike. Indeed, the whole thing may be likened to a spiked cup and ball, planted on the top of three flat cheeses, resting on a big cog-wheel; and the whole surmounting a huge egg, or cone, out of the sides of which little cones are growing. The front of the temple, however, sends out two projections, one on each side of the doorway, from the tops of which two separate square-sided, conic-topped kiosks, or cupolas, supported on four pillars, rise, one on each side of the front of the spire, somewhat in the same manner as the two cupolas on the front of many-domed buildings of the Romanesque style in Europe.

The intetior of the sanctum is plain, and now contains merely two small marble figures of *Thâkurji* and *Thâkurâni*,

dressed in rags and tinsel. The square area of the plinth and base of the temple is about 44 feet, from outside to outside each way, measured across the centre. The form of the outline of the horizontal transverse section or ground plan of the body of this temple is that of a square, of which the corners have been bevelled or cut off, and then notched into with small receding and projecting angles; in other words, it is an octagon of which three sides are plain,—one side and two half sides, with projections added, from the entrance face of the building; and two sides and two half sides are cut up into small receding and projecting angles.

The great modern, and exceedingly plain and roughly finished, pillared portico, which has been added to the front of the building in comparatively recent times, has, I think, been sufficiently described already, and certainly does not merit any further notice.

A ground plan and section and elevations of this temple will accompany this report.

I also obtained a ground plan and section of another old temple in Thoda which was in a ruinous state. I thought it worth taking notice of, merely from the fact that this temple possessed a pillared vestibule, of which the pillars were somewhat ornamental, and as old as the rest of the temple.[1]

On the embankment of the great tank outside the old northern outer gate of the town, I found an erect *satti* pillar, 11 feet 10 inches in height, and of a peculiar style and shape. This pillar was a monolith, hewn out of the same kind of dark-coloured stone as that of which the plinth of the great temple in Thoda was built. The base of this pillar is no doubt sunk for some depth in the ground; but the base from the surface of the ground is square, 2 feet in height, 1 foot 2 inches in diameter, and bevelled off at the top corners. Above this the shaft is octagonal for 2 feet 8 inches. This is succeeded by a square part, which forms nearly a perfect cube, for it is nearly the same in breadth, both transversely and vertically,—namely, 1 foot 2 inches in breadth, and 1 foot 3 inches in height. The upper and lower corners of it are bevelled off, and each side of this square part is ornamented with the sculpture of a bell-shaped or hour-glass-shaped figure, which is crossed by a band. The shaft of the pillar then becomes octagonal

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[1] See plate XV for the plan and section of this temple.

again for the height of about 3 feet 8 inches. This is surmounted by another square or cubical part, of about the same dimensions, and in every other respect exactly resembling the former lower square or cubical portion before described, except that the upper surface is sloped up in a low pyramidal shape, instead of flat. This last is surmounted by the capital of the pillar, about one foot in height, which is a rounded figure rising from a narrowed neck, and terminating in a conical top. It resembles a cinerary urn in shape, or its form may be likened to a bowel-shaped urn, covered over with a conical lid, with a small round knob at top. This pillar was very much weather-worn, and evidently ancient, but it had no inscription of any kind. I suspect that it was not originally intended for a *satti* pillar, but that it must at some earlier period have stood either in the centre of the court, or in front of the gateway, of some ancient Jain temple.

In the early part of my description of Thoda, I referred, *en passant*, to a fortification wall which surmounts and runs round the edge of the summit of the great mountain mass of Girwar, which extends unbroken from Thoda to Visalpûr and Râj-Mahal, a distance of from 7 to 8 miles. At first sight this fortification wall looks as if it belonged merely to some hill fort connected with the defence of Thoda. But this is not the case. The fortification wall one sees on the summit of the mountain overhanging Thoda is simply the northern end of a great fortification wall which runs round the edge of the summit of nearly the whole mountain of Girwar, and thus constitutes a fortification extending, with a few breaks, for about from 6 to 7 miles from north to south, and for from quarter of a mile to 1 mile and more in breadth between the walls from east to west. There are, however, breaks or blanks in the course of this wall, here and there, on precipitous places where fortifications were not required. Besides this encircling wall, which is seen from several points from the plain below, there is also another portion of the fortification of the existence of which one does not become cognisant until one ascends to the summit of the mountain and traverses it to its most central point. On a central summit of the mountain of Girwar, there is a second inner fortification wall, containing a small area of about 430 feet by 450 feet, which once formed the citadel of the fortress. Within this second central walled enclosure, there is a third lesser walled

enclosure comprising an area of about 315 feet by 335 feet, on the inner side of the wall of which there is a series of chambers, 22 feet in breadth, which runs round the whole four sides, interiorly. Again, within this last enclosure there are the remains of a square block of buildings which cover an area of 125 feet by 108 feet, and which, though of rude construction, were evidently once palatial residences.

Near and outside of this citadel enclosure, towards the western side of it, there are the remains of another block of buildings. Again, about 250 feet to the south-east of the citadel enclosure, and outside of it, there is a large tank, now dry, having an area of 212 feet by about 150 feet, which has been hollowed out of the rock, and which has a retaining wall on its western side, with steps leading down into it.

At various places, also, within the great encircling fortification wall, there are the remains of the sites of dwellings.

Now, this great and extensive fortification which I have been describing—a whole mountain range, in fact, fortified—was the ancient mountain fastness of the race of Dhoda.

After it passed out of the hands of the Dhodas, it came into the possession of those who successively held the city of Thoda. Among others, the fortifications are said to have been added to by the Chohans, and repaired by the Sisodias.

A powerful chief whom the natives of Thôda called *Khal Khan* or *Kalhan*, is also said at one time to have held this mountain fortress. As the above is totally unlike any Muhammadan name that we are acquainted with, I expect that Khal Khan is simply a corruption of a well-known Hindu name,—namely, that of *Kilhana*, which was the name of a chief of the Guhila or Grahilot race, who was the maternal uncle of Someswara (also called Prithvi Raja), of Ajmèr, the father of the great Prithvi Raja of Delhi.[1] Kilhana built one of the gateways in the fortress of Hânsi, and his name is mentioned in an inscription there.[2] In that case, the fortified hill of Girwar between Thoda and Visalpûr may have been in the possession of Kilhana somewhere about A. D. 1160; but I think it would more probably be previous to A. D. 1151, when Delhi was taken from the Tomars by the Chohans. The natives of Thoda seemed to think that the personage whom they called Khal Khan, or Kalhan, was a chief who rebelled against either the Mogul

[1] See General Cunningham's Archæological Report for 1862-63, p. 158.

[2] See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 154, and Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 743.

or the Pathân sovereigns of Delhi; but if his real name was Kilhana, his hostility may possibly have been displayed against the last of the Tomars, although it is also just possible that he may have outlived Prithvi Râja, and may have opposed some expedition made for the conquest of that part of Râjputâna by the first of the Ghori Pathâns who took Delhi.

There is a curious tradition connected with the building of this fortress, to the effect that the man to whom the building of it was entrusted was directed by his royal master to have it completed within a certain stated time; but that being unable to complete it within the time allowed him, he was in consequence put to death.

The great mountain on which this fortification is situated I should judge to be considerably over 2,000 feet in height. The sides of this mountain are very steep and abrupt, and in some places absolutely precipitous, and within its whole extent of about 7 miles it is only accessible through laborious climbing at about four points.

I ascended this mountain in the heat of the day, under great distress from heat and thirst, and I shall never forget it.

The whole country to the north and west of Thoda is for many miles one great flat plain, covered with long grass and a few prickly bushes, and more closely resembles one of the huge prairies of America than anything else I have ever seen. Hills or mountains are only to be seen in the direction of Daitopa to the north-west, between Thoda and Deoli, towards the south-west, and in the direction of Tonk eastwards. This great open plain of waving grass, in fact, looks like a vast sea with mountainous islands scattered here and there in the distance. The long thick grass is full of wild boar. What would not that fine, manly, sporting gentleman, our late respected and lamented Viceroy, Lord Mayo, have given for a boar hunt on this grand prairie!

In the early part of my report I mentioned that an extensive colonnade belonging to buildings connected with a Jain temple was conspicuously visible half way up the face of the hill, at the back of Thoda; but this Jain establishment is of comparatively modern origin. The colonnade leading to it is grand in point of extent, but the pillars are plain; and, on the whole, there is not much in the way of architectural beauty to attract one's notice.

The old *seer* of Thoda was formerly equal in weight to 36 of the present Jaypur *paisa*.

17—BÂGHÈRA, OR VYÂGHRA.

THE town of Bâghèra is situated about 12 miles due west from Thoda, and about 47 miles to south-east of Ajmèr. From some intelligent natives of the place we obtained the following traditions connected with the origin and history of Bâghèra. They quoted the *Padma Purâna* in support of their statements, and said that in the *Satya-yûg* the name of the place was Tirath-raj, in the *Treta-yûg* Rutwij; in the *Dwâpar-yûg* Vasant-pûr; and that in the *Kâli-yûg*, or in the beginning of the age at present running, it was called Vyâghra, which in Sanskrit signifies "the tiger," and which last name, they said, was eventually changed into *Bâghèra*, which signifies either "a tiger's whelp" or "a panther."

As we also discovered, however, that this place, Bâghèra, was the actual traditional scene of the *Varâha Avatâr*, or "Boar Incarnation of Vishnû," it seems to me just possible that the name of Bâghèra, or *Vâghèra*, may be a corruption, or partial transposition, of *Varâha;* and that *Varâha Nagara* was probably an ancient name of the place; for, in the same manner as the natives call Lakhnau "Nakhlau," and Narod "Ranod," by transposition, so also might "Varâha" be changed into "Vahâra" by transposition, and this would, in time, easily become corrupted into Vâghèra, or Bâghèra.

There cannot be the slightest doubt, however, that in *Bâghèra* we have really discovered the actual traditional scene and *locale* of the *Varâha Avatâr*, if that can be called a discovery which, no doubt, was already well known to most of the intelligent or educated natives of Râjputâna who knew anything about the historical traditions of their own country. But if anything more were required to support the actual and commonly current traditions of the place, as to its being the sacred locality in which, in a mythological sense, the *Varâha Avatâr* of Vishnû is said to have been manifested, that proof will be found in the following facts which I am now about to mention. *Firstly*, the present inhabitants of Bâghèra affirm that it was the actual scene of the *Varâha Avatâr*. *Secondly*, on the north side of the town of Bâghèra there is a very large artificial lake or tank, which is called the *Varâha-Sâgar*. *Thirdly*, there was formerly an ancient temple at Bâghèra dedicated to the

Varâha Avatâr, which is said to have been destroyed by the Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb in one of his campaigns; but since the time of Aurangzeb another large new temple has been built, also dedicated to the *Varâha Avatâr*, in which there is now a large statue, or image, of that incarnation of Vishnû, and in which the Vishnavite form of worship is still daily carried on. *Fourthly*, the wild boar is certainly held in greater veneration at Bâghèra than at any other place in India. At Bâghèra a boar is a sacred animal, and the natives there say that any man who were to kill a wild boar in the immediate neighbourhood of Bâghèra would be sure to die immediately thereafter, while no such fatal result would follow if the same man killed a boar anywhere else. *Fifthly*, there are numerous ancient coins constantly found at Bâghèra with a representation of the *Varâha Avatâr* on the obverse, and the legend "*Sri Mad-âdi Varâha*" on the reverse, in characters of the seventh or eighth century. I myself obtained three of these coins from Bâghèra duringa visit of only a few hours to that place. Representations of specimens of the very same class of coins will be foundin Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I., Plate XXIV, figs. 13 to 21, and a description of them at pages 295 and 296. But Prinsep was puzzled as to what locality to assign as the source of the issue of this coinage. All he knew was that the same kind of nail-headed character as is found in the legends of these coins was also common in the inscriptions of the Takshak, Jit, and Mori princes of Harâvati and Mâlwa. Had he attributed their issue to some central point a little further north (which was also within the region anciently possessed by the Moris), he would have been more near the truth. At any rate, we have now found the actual source from which this coinage originally emanated,—not in the comparatively modern division of Harâvati, nor in the ancient kingdom of Mâlwa, but in Bâghèra, which, under the name of *Vasant-pûr*, was formerly included in the possessions of an ancient dynasty of kings, the first of whom was Gandharp Sein (or Gandharba Sena), and the capital of which dynasty was Champâvati-Nagara, or Chatsû, as it is now called.

According to the traditions of the place, Bâghèra is said to have been most famous for its sanctity, and for the pilgrimages made to its sacred shrine during the period when it was called Vasant-pûr; and, in illustration of the

virtue of its sanctity, my local informants, whom I have previously above quoted, again quoting the *Padma Purâna* as their authority, related the following interesting traditions:—

"Chandra Sena, the renowned Raja of Champâvati-Nagara (Chatsû), once went out on a hunting excursion; but nearly the whole day had passed away in fruitless search without his being able to see any animal worthy of the chase. At length, towards evening, he espied at a long distance what appeared to him to be an antelope, to which he gave chase, and managed to wound it with an arrow, apparently mortally. But when he went up to the spot where he saw the supposed animal fall, and where he expected to find it lying, to his surprise and astonishment he found, instead, an aged *Rishi* moaning in great agony with a wound which he had received. Fearing that he would merit the curses of such a holy man as the *Rishi*, in consequence of the dreadful mistake which he had apparently committed, King Chandra Sena humbly begged pardon of the holy man, and told him that the fatal deed was not intentional. But, notwithstanding all that King Chandra Sena could say, the *Rishi* cursed him, upon which the King's body immediately became black as charcoal. From that day forth the King Chandra Sena became pious and generous, in the hope that, by virtue thereof, the terrible affliction which had fallen upon him, in consequence of the *Rishi's* curse, might be removed from him. But it was all in vain. The King then called all his Pandits and wise men together, to consult them, and asked their advice as to any means by which he might be cured. After holding council together, they all unanimously advised the King to go to another Rishi called Matra Rishi, and to apply to him for assistance. King Chandra Sena then immediately repaired to where that Rishi dwelt, and begged his assistance and advice. In reply to the King's entreaties, Matra Rishi said to him—'Go thou and all thy subjects and bathe in the Varâha Sâgar at Vasant-pûr, and thou shalt be cured.' The King then did as the Rishi directed, and was cured."

It is also recorded that, in ancient times a leper Bhíl was cured by bathing in the same *Sâgar*.

Now, in the above, besides the mere interest connected with the legend, we have an historical point confirmed from two different and independent sources. In my account of

Chatsû I stated that Champâvati was one of the ancient names of that place; and again, here, in the legend above quoted, we find Chandra Sena mentioned as the King of Champâvati Nagara, at the time when Bâghèra was called Vasant-pûr; and, moreover, we find the period in question attributed to the *Dwâpar-yúg*. The mention of the *Dwâpar-yúg* is, of course, a mere Pauranic exaggeration and absurdity, but it seems to show that the period in which Bâghèra was called Vesant-pûr, and Chatsû was called Champâvati, must have been very remote, and that the period of the reign of Chandra Sena, who is recorded as the king of Champâvati at that time, must have been very ancient indeed.

I have also stated in my report on Chatsû that the first and original name of Chatsû was Tamba-vati, and that it was founded by Gandharba Sena, who is said to have been the father of Vikramâditya of Ujjain.

Now, in several ancient traditions, more especially in the genealogies of the ancient kings of Mâlwa collected by Wilford and Tod, it is recorded that Gandharba Rûpa was a king of Mâlwa (about the commencement of the first century before our era), and that he was succeeded by Vikramâditya, and that the latter was succeeded by Chandra Sena. It is therefore evident that the Gandharba Rûpa of the Mâlwa traditions is identical with the Gandharba Sena of Tamba-vati of the Chatsû traditions, and also that the Chandra Sena of Mâlwa is identical with the Chandra Sena of Champâvati (or Chatsû) of the Bâghèra traditions. We have thus here a verification of three important, but hitherto doubtful, points in Indian history, and moreover we have herein also a sort of indirect proof of the actual existence of the first Vikramâditya of Ujjain, which has of late years been doubted and called in question, nay, even absolutely denied; and we have thus also obtained some new data by which to determine the period of the reign of this Vikramâditya. Now, if it could be proved, with any certainty, that Gandharba Rûpa or Gandharba Sena reigned about the commencement of the first century before Christ, it would naturally follow that his successor in these traditions—namely, Vikramâditya—must have reigned about the middle of the same century; and that the date of B. C. 57, formerly attributed to him, is correct; and also that Chandra Sena, whom these traditions make to be the successor of Vikramâditya,

must therefore have reigned about the close of the first century before Christ.

But, on the other hand, the foundation of the ancient city of Chandrâvati (now Jhâlrapâtan), is generally attributed to Chandra Sena of Mâlwa, and who, in this case also, is made to be the immediate successor of the traditionally famous Vikramâditya of Ujjain. But the question here arises, were the possessions of this King Chandra Sena so extensive that he could have been king of Champâvati (or Chatsû) and Chandrâvati at one and the same time? or that a king whose capital was where Chatsû now is could have founded Chandrâvati, which is 150 miles distant to the south of the former?

General Cunningham, in his former report on Chandrâvati[1] makes certain remarks on the subject of the probable approximate date of the foundation of that ancient city, which I will now quote. He refers, by the way, to certain coins which he found there, which are allowed to be of the most ancient type of coinage yet found in India. He says: "These coins are, perhaps, sufficient to show that the place was occupied long before the time of Chandra Sena; but as none of the existing ruins would appear to be older than the sixth or seventh century A. D., it is not improbable that the city may have been refounded by Chandra Sena, and named after himself, Chandrâvati. I think it nearly certain that it must have been the capital of Ptolemy's district of Sandrabatis; and if so, the tradition which assigns its foundation to the beginning of the Christian era would seem to be correct."

Now, it is evidently General Cunningham's opinion that Chandrâvati was only refounded by Chandra Sena, probably about the sixth century A. D.[2] But the Sandrabatis of Ptolemy is only the Greek equivalent of Chandrâvati, in exactly the same manner as Sandracottos and Sandracoptos were only the Greek equivalents of the name of Chandra Gupta. It is, therefore, beyond doubt that Chandrâvati must have been in existence at least as early as the time

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[1] See General Cunningham's Archæological Report, 1864-65, Vol. II., pp. 264 and 265.

[2] [Mr. Carlleyle has misapprehended what I said about the foundation of Chandrâvati. I refer the ruins of the existing temples to the 6th or 7th century A.D., but I have nowhere referred Chandra Sena to that date. On the contrary, I refer the original foundation to some time before B.C. 500, and its refounding and renaming to the beginning of the Christian era, under Chandra Sena, the successor of Vikramâditya of Malwa.]—A. C.

of Ptolemy, A. D. 130 to 140, if not before it. It appears, therefore, somewhat strange that a king called Chandra Sena should have, in the sixth century, refounded a city called Chandrâvati but which had already existed, under the very same name, four or five centuries before his time! Now, here we have in one tradition the period of Chandra Sena's reign placed in the *Dwapar-yûg*, in the clouds of the mythical ages, while other more reliable authorities place Chandra Sena in the latter part of the first century before Christ; and lastly, General Cunningham gives us the sixth century of the Christian era as the probable period of Chandra Sena's reign. And the worst of it is that, wherever we place Chandra Sena, thither he must also drag the unfortunate Vikramâditya and Gandharba Sena *alias* Gandharba Rûpa along with him! Could anything be more puzzling and confounding? But the confusion does not end here, but only becomes worse confounded; for Tod tells us of another Chandra Sena, who was king of Chandrâvati at the same time that Bhoja was king of Dhar in A. D. 1035.[1]

Thus, we have here a fourth date for the reign of a Chandra Sena; and between the first and the last period assigned to this much-hustled-about king, there is a difference of a few ages of the world's existence. General Cunningham, I believe, entirely discredits or denies the existence of a Vikramâditya in B. C. 57,[2] and holds that what is commonly called the Vikramâditya era commenced during the reign of the Indo-Scythic King Kanishka, but was only revived by a Vikramâditya of Ujjain, who lived between the 5th and 6th centuries, or perhaps about A. D. 500, contemporarily with Kalidas. Thus, we have both Vikramâditya and Chandra Sena placed near the sixth century by General Cunningham, and, as a matter of course, Gandharba Rûpa *alias* Gandharba Sena must follow them thither. But Tod tells us of another Raja Bhoja who lived in A. D. 665. Now, if it were possible that this was the Raja Bhoja of Dhar who was contemporary with Raja Chandra Sena of Chandrâvati, then we should have the unfortunate Chandra Sena dragged off again into the 7th century! My idea, and the only reasonable explanation that I can give, is that there were several Bhojas, several

[1] See "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society," Vol. I, and Tod's *Rajasthan*.

[2] On the contrary I never doubted that the Samvat of Vikramâditya was founded by a Vikramâditya; but I think it highly probable that he was Indo-Scythian Prince who bore that Indian title.—*A. Cunningham*.

Chandra Senas, and several *Vikramâdityas*, which has created all the confusion[1]. But how about Gandharba Rûpa *alias* Gandharba Sena? Were there also several kings of this name? Or is he to be left alone in the lurch, to fish for himself?

General Cunningham, in his report on Dehli (Archæological Report for 1862-63, Vol. I, page 154), says that Bâghèra, which he also calls Bachera, was founded by Bach Deo, or Vacha Raja, the son of Karna Pâl Tomar (which would have been in the ninth century). But all I can say is, that the people of Bâghèra itself knew nothing of the name of their town as Bachera, and denied that it had ever been the name of the place; and they seemed to know nothing of Bach Deo, or Vacha Raja, as its founder. In fact, all the accounts which I obtained on the spot tended to show that Bâghèra must have existed as an ancient and sacred place for many centuries previous to the time of Bach Deo, and long before even the first of the Tomara family existed. Bâghèra is the common name for either "a tiger's whelp" or "a young tiger," or "a leopard," in the northern parts of Rajputana; and it is the same word as *baghelâ*, or *baghautâ*, or *baghaitâ*, which have the same meaning. In fact, *bâgherâ*, or *baghelâ*, is simply a corruption of *vagherâ*, which is the same as the Sanskrit *vyâghra*, which means "a tiger;" and, as I have already stated that the ancient name of Bâghèra was Vyâghra which means "the tiger," it is very evident that the modern name of the place has the same meaning, or it would appear as if it were intended to indicate that the present town of Bâghèra was "the whelp," or descendant, of the old town of Vyâghra," or "the tiger!"[2] It is therefore plainly evident that the name of the place can have nothing in the world to do with that of Bach Deo.

The town of Bâghèra stands on the southern bank of the large artificial lake or tank called the Varâha Sâgar, as already before mentioned. The dimensions of the Varâha Sâgar are 1,600 feet in length from east to west, by 900 feet from north to south. About a quarter of a

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[1] For instance, of the more northern Bais Rajas, there are *two* Bhojas mentioned in a Benares copper-plate—namely, one who lived about A. D. 875, and who is also mentioned in a Pehewa inscription, and is supposed to be also mentioned in a Gwalior inscription; and another Bhoja, of the Benares copper-plate, who lived about A. D. 920.

[2] But *bachhera*, in Hindi, also means "a whelp," or "calf," or "foal," or "the young of any animal;" and therefore, even if the name of the place had been *Bachera*, it would still have very nearly the same meaning as *Bâghèra*, which means "the whelp of a tiger."

mile to the west of the Varâha Sâgar, there is another reservoir of water, known as the Sankâdik-ka-kund, and so called after a *Rishi* named Sankâdik Rishi. At the back, or to the south side of the town, a small river runs, which is now called the Dângar, but which is said to have been formerly known and classically famed in the *Purânas* under the name of the Bawa Nadhi. This river joins the Banas, near Visalpûr. About a mile to the south-west of the town of Bâghèra, there is a small rocky hill, 400 feet in height, which is called Brahmani Mata Dungri. In this hill there is a cave called Bharat-ka-gopha, or Bharat's cave, which is about 50 feet in height, 15 feet in depth, and 16 feet in breadth. The entrance is closed up by a wall, through which there is a curious little doorway only 3 feet in height by 4 feet in breadth.

A large temple dedicated to the *Varâha Avatâr* stands on the southern bank of the Varâha Sâgar at Bâghèra; but unfortunately this temple is of comparatively modern erection, or only about a hundred and fifty years old, as it was built after the death of Aurangzeb, who is said to have destroyed a very ancient temple at Bâghèra, which was also dedicated to the *Varâha Avatâr*. The present temple contains no inscription of any kind.

It is, at any rate, most certain that a very ancient and celebrated temple of the *Varâha Avatâr* formerly existed at Bâghèra, which Aurangzeb has the credit, or rather discredit, of destroying. Had this temple but been permitted to exist up to the present time, what grand architecture and gorgeous sculpture might not have been displayed to the ravished eyes of the archæologist, and what ancient inscriptions might he not have found there, revealing whole pages of lost Indian history! But, alas! the Muhammadan has destroyed all!

Near the Varâha Mandar there stands a stone pillar, or monolith, 15 feet in height and 10 inches in diameter, square below and octagonal above, and with a square flat capital. This pillar the natives of the place say is very old, and that in bygone days all marriage contracts were made beside it, without any further ceremonies except as a matter of choice. A traditional saying concerning this pillar is preserved in the following couplet:—

> "*Sachă Bhagat parne nahin math ne bandhe mor,*
> *Parne lawe par ki kare Bâghera dûr.*"

"The truly righteous man requireth neither rite nor spell,
The hymeneal crown upon his honest brow to bind;
And marriage bonds, though firmly clenched elsewhere, by book and bell,
On hallowed ground at Bâghèra their quick release will find."

I believe this pillar in reality to have been either a Buddhist monolith, surmounted by the figure of a lion, or else a Vishnavite pillar, with the figure of a *varâha*, or boar, on the top of it, like the pillar at Eran.

The release from such obligations on Hindus as those of marriage, obtained by a visit to, or residence at, Bâghèra, affords a parallel to the release from all the obligations and caste regulations usually binding upon Hindus which is actually allowed to all pilgrims or devotees while on a visit to the shrine of *Jagannath* at Pûri, in Orissa. And the license in both cases proceeds from the same cause, namely, the present existence of Vishnavite rites and probable former existence of Buddhism at Bâghèra, and the well-ascertained former prevalence of both the Vishnavite creed and Buddhism at Pûri.

The particular tradition connected with this "marriage pillar" at Bâghèra, however, at once brought to my mind the "stones of Loda," "oracular stones," "oath stones," and stones at which secret betrothals or marriage contracts were made, which existed in the Highlands of Scotland.

Within the town of Bâghèra, near the remains of the site of some former ancient temple, there are five stone pillars standing erect, of which one is large and the other four smaller.[1] The larger pillar stands close to the site of the old temple, and is about 12 feet in height and about 6 inches square. It is surmounted by a capital shaped like a cone, or half cylinder, with the convexity of the curve turned upwards, and with a sort of flange, or cornice, or beading, projecting from its lower edges; but the most curious feature about the big pillar is that it is encircled by two iron bands, the first about 8 feet from the base, and the second about 10 inches higher up. The other four pillars are situated together in a group at the distance of about 13 feet from the large pillar. These smaller pillars are each 5 feet in height and 4 inches square. They are of the same shape as the large pillar, and have also the same kind of top or capital; but they differ from the large pillar in the fact that each of them is perforated, transversely, by two square holes, each of these holes being about 2 inches

[1] See Plate XVI for a sketch of these five pillars.

in diameter. The natives of Bâghèra say that it was at these pillars that the marriage of Dulha Rai (*alias* Prince Tej-Karan Kachhwâha of Gwalior) to Maroni (the daughter of Raja Ranmal) took place, which event happened about A. D. 1106.

General Cunningham, in his former report on Gwalior, calls Ranmal "the Raja of Deosa," and says that the marriage of Dulha Rai and Maroni took place "at Deosa."[1] Now, the only way of explaining this discrepancy that I can see is by supposing that the marriage rites and ceremonies were performed at Bâghèra, while the marriage festivities were celebrated at Deosa.

With regard to the pillars themselves, although they do not appear to be very ancient, still I think it possible, from their shape, that they may have belonged to some Buddhist establishment of late date, and may have formed portions of a Buddhist railing.

It is now time that I should say something in particular about the temple dedicated to the *Varâha Avatâr*, which is situated on the bank of the Varâha Sâgar at Bâghèra. This temple, as I stated before, is modern, and replaced a more ancient one, which is said to have been destroyed by Aurangzeb. It is of smaller size and of much plainer construction than the great temple of Thoda, which I described in my report on that place. The Varâha temple at Bâghèra consists simply of a sanctum, with a portico in front of it. The stone pillars of the portico are plain and four-sided. The walls of the sanctum are of stone, but are plain and unadorned. The *sikar*, or conical spire, which surmounts the sanctum, is of stone, but it has very little about it that can be called ornamentation. This temple contains a statue or image of the *Varâha Avatâr*, or "Boar Incarnation of Vishnû." It is a large stone figure of a boar, between 3 and 4 feet in length, and has a small human figure on the top of it. The boar was, however, so covered with tinsel and drapery that it was difficult to judge of the exact attitude and proportions of it; and the Vishnavite priests, or *pujâris*, will not permit any one but themselves to approach near the image. The Vishnavite worship is constantly being carried on here. Lights are being constantly burned in the temple and incense frequently offered up and

[1] See General Cunningham's Archæological Report for 1864-65, article "Gwalior," Vol. II, pp. 376 and 377.

the sound of the shell and the cymbals is heard at morning and evening.

The town of Bâghèra contains about 600 houses and about 3,000 inhabitants. Banyas, Brahmans, and Rajputs form the majority of the population; but of these the Banyas are by far the most numerous. The majority of the population are attached to the Vishnava form of religion.

A pole-axe, of a very peculiar shape, is carried as a weapon by the people about Bâghèra. The blade is shaped like a broad wedge in front, behind which it contracts by a curve above and below to a narrow neck. But the greatest peculiarity of this weapon is that it is fastened into the stick or pole to which it is attached, after the manner of some stone and bronze-celts, instead of being slipped over the stick by means of a ring, as most modern axes are.[1]

The old *seer* of Bâghèra was equal to 26 of the present Jaypûr *paisa*.

I have before said that the country to the north and west of Thoda, and towards Bâghèra, is for many miles one vast grassy plain or prairie—a sort of sea of grass; and that the long thick grass is inhabited by innumerable wild boar. It is in this boar-inhabited, grassy plain, 12 miles to the west of Thoda, that Bâghèra is situated. It is only some distance beyond and to the west of Bâghèra that the actual desert commences. This then is, *par excellence*, the country of the wild boar; and here therefore was a fitting place in which to locate the *Varâha Avatâr* of Vishnû. But what was the purpose of this otherwise strange *Avatâr*? It was to rescue the earth from the waters of a deluge: Vishnû was the "Diluvian Saviour." He is supposed, in the form of a boar, to have raised up the earth out of the waters on his powerful aprine tusks. Now, it is not only in its natural, but also in its geological features, that this vast grassy plain bears a resemblance to a great sea, with mountainous islands scattered here and there on the distant horizon; for there cannot be the slightest doubt that either during the newer pliocene or perhaps the post-pliocene, or the early part of the recent period of geologists, not only the desert, but also the flat, intermontane plains of Râjputâna, were an actual sea, or formed part of the ocean, but which was dotted over, here

[1] In reality, two pieces of iron, curved backwards from the two posterior corners of the back of the blade of the axe, leaving an interspace between, until they meet together, where they are fixed into the handle.

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and there, with a sort of archipelago of mountainous islands occurring at long intervals; and that this sea became gradually dried up, partly by the silting up of rivers, partly by the formation of sandy dunes and great drifts of sand at their mouths, and partly by the gradual raising of the level of the sea-bottom by volcanic forces,—such, for instance, as affected the seaboard of Kachh, or Cutch, and the course of the mouths of the Indus, within the memory of the present race of inhabitants.

Now, considering the enormously remote period, as yet but little realised, at which the pre-historic races of mankind may first have appeared upon the earth,—that India is proved to have been at one time occupied by some of these rude pre-historic races,—that these pre-historic races were certainly the predecessors of other races of man whom we now, for convenience sake, term. "aborigines," and that these so-called aborigines, again, were in their turn intruded upon and confined as to their area of habitation by Turanian colonies from the north, who constituted the basis of the Dravidian and Sudra races of India,—and lastly, that the Turanian settlers were, in their turn, conquered and subjected by Aryan colonies, who are now represented by the three higher castes of what we call Hindus,—considering, I say, all these remarkable circumstances, which I believe no enlightened scientific man of the present day can for a moment doubt to have been actual facts, I think it is extremely likely that a tradition of the desiccation of the region which we now call Râjputâna, which, though probably gradual on the whole, may have been sudden either in its first commencement or towards its terminal completion, may have been handed down from one successive occupant race to another, until that tradition became embodied in the mythology of the country, until by degrees the mysterious powers which raised this region of the land out of the waters of a sea were attributed to supernatural interference, which was at length, in mythological phraseology, concentrated in the special and miraculous action of *one* single supernatural being as an impersonification of the Divinity; and such is Vishnû of Hindu mythology, the "Preserver" and the "Diluvian Saviour."

But it may be asked why, even allowing all this to be true, the locality of Bâghèra in particular should be selected as the point at which, mythologically speaking, the initiatory action of this miracle manifested itself, or, to speak in scien-

tific terms, the desiccation of a sea-bottom first began to show itself by the resultant addition to the area of dry land? In reply to this, I have the following suggestive remarks to make, derived from personal observation in the very region of which I have been speaking.

Râjputâna has often been imagined by those who have either not visited it at all, or who have not observed its features, to be for the most part a sandy desert. But this is not the case. The general character of what is called Râjputâna is that of a vast plain, in some parts as flat as a table, and in other parts rolling or undulating, or broken; and out of which plain detached ranges and groups of mountains or isolated hills rise abruptly at longer or shorter intervals. In many places the plains, extending between detached mountain ranges, are very low, and either of an oozy or fenny nature, or formed of stiff, kankary clay; and these low plains are almost invariably either covered with a saline efflorescence, or else dotted with shallow lakes or jheels, which are, for the most part, either brackish or absolutely salt. In other parts of Râjputâna, however, and extending beyond it towards the north-west,—such, for instance, as the region to the west of Jaypur, Ajmer, and Jodhpur,—the character of the country is that of a vast sandy desert, with only a few bare, isolated, rocky hills rising solitary here and there.

But there are also certain other parts of Râjputâna which possess very peculiar characteristics, differing in many respects from any of the former. In such parts of the country, the soil is composed either of alluvium or of gravel. Where it is composed of alluvium, the surface is covered with a growth of thick rank grass. Now, it is on the surface of these two last-mentioned formations, the gravelly and the alluvial, that we find the remains of the earliest human settlements; while on the salt plains, and in the sandy desert parts, we find no remains of the occupation of man, older than the middle ages of man's history, but where in general the majority of the human settlements are even of comparatively recent date.

As illustrations in proof of these statements, I may mention that on the saline plains to the north of Jaypur, or between Jaypur and Sambhar to the south, and Madhupur, Uncha Pahâr, and Sikar to the north, I could neither find nor hear of the remains of human settlements which were

older than what we may, for convenience sake, call the middle ages of Indian history, and the commencement of which may be dated, say, from about the beginning of the Christian era; while in the gravelly country, which extends from the south of Lavân to Chatsû, and from Chatsû still further south to Lawa, and again in the alluvial grassy country which extends from the south of Lawa to Bâghèra and Thoda and Visalpûr on the Banâs River, and from thence eastwards, north-eastwards, and southwards, towards the Karkota, Ranthambhawar, Búndi, and Chitor ranges of hills, I found the remains of the most ancient human settlements in this part of India. But to the south and west, and for a shorter distance also to the east of this latter region again, where the country for some distance assumes the appearance of a bare and barren, arid, stony plain, interspaced here and there, at long intervals, with a few equally bare hills (but which still, for all that, cannot be called a desert), I again met with a hiatus in, or cessation of, the remains of any very ancient settlements, and which do not recur again until one proceeds some distance still further either eastwards or southwards. The same rule—namely, the absence of any really very ancient remains—will also apply, in a general sense, to the great desert which lies to the west. The occurrence of a few cairns, or a solitary cromlech, which are not settlements, on a few of the detached mountain ranges in parts of the above-mentioned tracts, does not in any way militate against my arguments; for these remains (few as they are) are supposed to be the work of a scattered race of people who preceded the regular settlers; and, besides, the detached mountain ranges on which they may sparingly be found were, without doubt, at some ancient or remote period, merely rocky islands, rising out of a sea, and which were, here and there (where large enough), probably scantily inhabited by a few rude half-savage beings, who would navigate from one rocky island to the other, in rude canoes, in order to bury their dead, or for any other purpose, as occasion might require.

From all that has been instanced above, we may therefore infer that that portion of the country, in these regions, which is distinguished either by a somewhat elevated gravelly soil, or by a (except during the rains) dry alluvial soil, covered with a growth of thick grass, is that which was first reclaimed from the sea. Now Bâghèra is situated in the region where

this alluvial soil prevails, and it is surrounded by a luxuriant growth of grass; while it is, nevertheless, within a moderate distance from the sandy desert, which begins to commence to the west of it, between Ajmèr and Jodhpûr. Further, with regard to this kind of alluvial soil, I believe it to be the result of an aggregation of alluvium, formed by ancient fresh-water lakes and rivers, which were intermittently affected by the high tidal waters of a sea; and in the case of a desiccation of a sea-bottom by a general rising of the land, I consider that such a locality as this would be one of the first portions of the plain country to be changed into perfectly dry land by the draining of its shallow fresh-water lakes, which were thus also no longer affected by the tidal waters of the sea, and thus well fitted for immediate human inhabitation. And I therefore consequently believe the neighbourhood of Bâghèra to have been one of the first localities on the plains which were raised above and beyond the influences of the retiring sea, which I believe to have, at a remote period, covered the greater portion of the intermontane plains of Râjputâna.

Such a spot would therefore naturally become celebrated and mixed up with mythological traditions, in connection with the recovery of the land from the waters of the sea, through the agency of some apparently supernatural power. And hence the allegorical fable of the mythological diluvian preserver, Vishnû, taking the form of one of the wild boars of these alluvial grassy plains, and rooting up the earth out of the waters and bearing it up on his tusks.

The name of Vishnû, I think, might have originally meant "the tusked," as it may be derived from *vishan*, in Sanskrit, which signifies "a tusk," rather than from *vish*, or *vishwa*, "all-pervading" or "multiform."

The somewhat similar tradition concerning the demon Dhundu, the Typhon of the desert, who was overcome and slain by Kuvalâyâswa, as quoted by General Cunningham in his former report on Dhundâr, near Jaypur,[1] is evidently only another later form or version of the same mythological allegory.

The ancient Druids of Britain preserved the celebration of a mythos of exactly similar import to that of the *Varâha Avatâr* of Vishnû,—namely, the dragging of the *Afanc* out of the *Great Lake* by *Hu Gadarn* and his *oxen*;—the *Afanc*, or *Avanc*, according to some, signifying the "Mundane

[1] See General Cunningham's Archæological Report, 1864-65, Vol. II, pp. 251 & 252.

Island," while according to others it was the name of a mythological monster like a beaver, which was fabled to have burrowed through, or undermined, the mighty bank or dam which is supposed to have held the waters back within bounds, and thus let the floods in upon the earth; but from which, as I before mentioned, *Hu Gadarn*, (or "Hu the Mighty," the Vishnû of the Druids) with his oxen, eventually rescued it. And then, also, *Dwyvan* and *Dwyvach*, the arkite patriarchs (male and female), stepped forth out of the cave, or ark, or womb of concealment (the "arkite cromlech" of the Druidic initiations), in which they had been guarded by *Ceridwen*, the Druidical *Ceres* or arkite great mother of all.

18—VISALPÛR AND VANAPÛR.

VISALPÛR is an old town, which was founded by Visala Deva, the grandfather of Prithvi Raja, and is situated about 7 miles to the south-west by south from Thoda, and at the south-western corner of the Thoda or Girwar mountain range. It lies right in the mouth of a great chasm-like gorge, which cuts the range in two transversely, and runs through it eastwards, to a place called Râj Mahal, where there are the remains of a middle-aged, or rather comparatively modern, palace of the Sisodias, and which is situated about 8½ miles to the south-east by south from Thoda, and about 10 or 11 miles to the north of Deolee. The Rivers Dai, or Dayi, and Khari, here join the Banâs, forming a "triveni," and their united streams then run through this pass from the west and pass through to the east of the range. The pass is very narrow at each end, with high precipitous cliffs of rock closely approaching each other from the opposite sides, but it widens out into a great mountain-girded amphitheatre in the centre, where the River Banâs in the rainy season forms a great lake, called the *Ana Sâgar*, or *Vana Sâgar*; but even during the dry season, within the basin in this pass, the river water remains in long, continuous, deep pools, which near the Râj Mahal end are said to be almost unfathomable. Indeed, the people say that no one has ever been able to fathom the great pool at this place, which is shut into a narrow gorge between the perpendicular rocky sides of the mountains, which here almost close upon each other; in fact, the pass at each end looks as if the mountains had been rent asunder by volcanic force, while the wide central amphitheatre looks like a volcanic basin. The hills, or rather mountains, here are very lofty and precipitous. They form one continuous range, or rather one huge continuous mountain, which is called Girwar, showing only a few separate crests, here and there, all the way from Thoda to Visalpûr and Râj Mahal, a distance of between 7 and 8 miles; and the edges of the whole summit of this mountain range are lined and defended by a fortification wall, or a nearly continuous wall running round its top, with the remains of a citadel situated about the centre of the range, and originally a walled-in town in a gorge at both ends of the range, but of which Thoda alone still exists at the northern end, while the deserted site of the

now nameless city, which I believe to have been called Vanapûr, at the southern end, is now simply a jungly waste. This was the great mountain fastness of the Dhoda tribe, who, when hard pressed, could retire upwards in a body to a fortified mountain fastness about 7 miles in length by about from a quarter or half a mile to 2 miles in breadth. The inhabitants of Visalpûr say that the fortifications on the heights were in existence before Visalpûr was founded.

The situation of the site of the nameless town in the gorge at the southern end of the range, is very much like that of Nain in many respects. A wall, which runs across the mouth of the gorge from mountain side to mountain side, shuts this gorge in from the basin through which the Triveni flows; and from the triangular enclosed space within this wall, a zigzag causeway runs up the most accessible part of the mountain side, to the fortified heights above. With the exception of the wall, which closes in the gorge, and the remains of the razed sites of a few buildings, and a few mounds, there is nothing else remaining of this old town. The zigzag climbing or ascending causeway, before mentioned, was the only means by which anything bulky or weighty could be taken up to the heights above, as the whole mountain mass of Girwar is nearly everywhere perfectly inaccessible, except in three or four places, or to a man climbing with hands and feet together. From that portion of the Girwar heights which overhangs the Jain temple on the hill-side above Thoda, one can also ascend by a path to the fortifications above; but everywhere else the range is simply a precipitous mountain wall. Were it not for the total want of any springs of water on the summit of the range, a warlike tribe, taking refuge on these heights, would simply be unassailable. Now, near the remains of the citadel on the centre of the range there is a large dry tank, of masonry (before mentioned);[1] but I fear it would be often dry, as I saw it,—except during the rains. The height of the highest crests of this range cannot be less than considerably upwards of 2,000 feet, but probably somewhat near 3,000 feet. From the highest summit one has the most extensive view that I have ever yet seen in India. Towards the west one has an unlimited view in the direction of the desert beyond Ajmer, and towards the east one fancies one can see as far as Ranthambhawar. To the north one can see the Jaypûr range of hills, and to the south one may imagine that one

[1] See my report on Thoda.

sees in the distance the position of Udaypûr and the blue summits around Chitor; while Tonk and Deoli appear to be almost below one, at a comparatively short distance off.

This great range is, as I said before, cut through and across, from east to west, towards its southern end, by the great pass and basin through which the united streams or triveni of the Banâs, Daí, and Khare Rivers flow. To the south of this pass the range becomes broken up into isolated peaks and separate ridges, some of which are still of considerable height. One isolated peaked mountain, occupying a central position at the southern end of the basin, and which is called the Kakrapôl Mountain, I should say cannot be much less than 3,000 feet above the sea. The range terminates within about 5 miles of Deoli. The jungle between Visalpûr and Râj Mahal is said formerly to have been full of tigers, but the officers of the Deoli Force have done much towards lessening their number by shooting them. We were warned, however to be on our guard at night, as the natives said that tigers came down every night to the water to drink.

The fortified mountain fastness between Thoda and Visalpûr, as I have already said, originally belonged to the Dhoda tribe, one of the thirty-six royal races of India. It next came into the possession of the Solankis, and of the Chohans under Visala Deva and Prithvi Râja. Afterwards it passed successively through the hands of the Solankis, the Sisodias, and a chief called Kalhan, until, like many other places, it was included among their many stolen possessions by the greedy Kachhwâhas. I was informed by the natives of Thoda and Visalpûr that a powerful chief, whom they called Khal Khan or Kalhan, and who is said to have rebelled against one of the Delhi monarchs, had at one time taken refuge in this fortified hill fastness, and held it for some time. Although this name might possibly represent some Musalman name, such as Kali Khan, still I believe that it really refers to the famous Grahilot or Sisodia chieftain Kilhana, who was the maternal uncle of Someswara, the father of Prithvi Raja.

There is a fine old temple in Visalpûr, situated close under the hillside at the entrance to the pass, which, I was happy to find, had not been destroyed by the Muhammadans. In this fine old temple, grey, mouldy, and hoary-looking with age, we found several inscriptions, of which there were two large and the rest short inscriptions, which

were all, with one exception, of the time of Prithvi Raja; the former dated, respectively, one in *Samvat 1231*, and another in *Samvat 1244*. The name of Prithvi Raja himself is plainly mentioned in the last-named inscription.[1]

There is also a cave temple, or rather a cave, in which temples or shrines have been built, within a two-storied screen or facing of masonry in the face of the rock, in the side of the mountain at the entrance to the pass, immediately opposite to the town of Visalpûr. I consider this to have been the cave of Vana Rishi, who is famed in the traditions of Visalpûr, and who is said to have dwelt on the banks of the river here. But with the exception of the bases of some of the pillars (which appear to be older than the rest), the whole of the structures in the cave appear to be modern, and therefore hardly worthy of particular notice here, except from the mere fact of their being in a cave and connected with ancient traditions.[2] I fancy that this must be the cave referred to by Tod, under the name of "the cave of Gokarna," in some remarks on the vicinity of Thoda, or "Tonk Thoda," as he calls it, in his "Personal Narrative." At the end of the second volume of his *Annals of Rajasthan*, he says: "The sacred cave of Gokarna, celebrated in the history of the great Chohan king Beesaldeo" [Visala Dèva] "of Ajmér, is also worth notice."[3] But what makes this identification pretty certain is that, in an inscription on a left-hand pillar in the vestibule of the temple of Visala Deva, dated *Samvat 1244*, there is mention made of *Śri Gokarṅṅa mandapè*, or the shrine of Śri Gokaruṅṅa. Another inscription on a pillar on the same side of the temple, dated *Samvat 1231*, commences with the words *Dèva Śri, Gokarlla nâgh-vasî*."[4] I presume this *Gokarlla* to be the same as *Gokarṅṅa*, and to be simply another form of the same name. Another short inscription of two lines on the left-hand side of the entrance of the temple commences with the words "*Swasti Dèva Śri Gokarṅṅasyadu*," and the remainder runs as follows: "*Śri Rajâputra Gâlhaṅo, anudinam praṅamyati Samvat 1244 Srâvaṅaptaruvam*." The same term *Śrâvaṅ aptaruvam* occurs also, immediately after the date, in the larger inscription

1 See also a separate drawing of one of the beautiful pillars in the temple in Plate XX.

2 See plate XVII for a detailed plan of this cave.

3 This quotation is from page 678 of the second volume of Tod's *Rajasthan*, but I regret that I was unable to obtain the first volume in order to learn what Tod therein says concerning Visala Déva in connection with the cave of Gokarna.

4 I read the opening words as "*Dèva Śri Gokallena*."—See plate XXI, Upper Inscription. —A. C.

which mentions the name of Prithvi Raja. This term, from all that I can learn, would appear to mean the end of the month of *Śravaṇa*, when the sun is in the north.

The inscription of Prithvi Raja opens as follows: "*Swasti Samasta Râjâvali samâlankvata* (or *samâlankshava?*) *parama Bhaṭṭaraka mahârâjâ-dhirâja paramesara Śri: Prithvi Râja Dèva râjotatratasminu kâlè Samvat 1244 Śravaṇaptaruvam.*"

The other long inscription, dated *Samvat 1231*, has already been mentioned. But, besides these, there are several other short inscriptions:—

1.—A somewhat defaced inscription of a single line on a right-hand pillar within the entrance of the temple, in exactly the same characters as the larger inscription of Prithvi Raja.

2.—An inscription of three short lines on one of the pillars in the vestibule of the temple, which reads as "*Jogi Achpantadhaja.*"

3.—Another short inscription of two lines on one of the vestibule pillars, which reads as "*Nâvva Guhilait.*"

4.—A fourth inscription of three lines, which consists simply of the word "*Nâva,*" three times repeated.

Although the present town of Visalpûr is decidedly ancient, I have reason to believe that it was preceded by a still older city called Vanapûr, which I believe to have been so named after Vana Rishi, an ancient sage, who appears to have become the tutelary saint of the locality.

In a walled enclosure on the site of the ancient nameless town within the gorge about a quarter of a mile to the east of Visalpûr, before referred to, which I believe to have been called Vanapûr, and in which some ancient temples apparently once stood, I found some small fragments of old Jain image sculpture in a small insignificant shrine of modern date, dedicated to Mata Devi, and situated under a grove of trees, where I pitched my camp.

There are the following popular traditional sayings concerning Visalpûr and certain of the noted features of its neighbourhood:—

Visalpûr Vana Rishi bekunthi ka bâs;
Upar Girwar jukh rahe; niche bahe Banâs.

" At Visalpûr did Vana Rishi dwell,
In heavenlike repose.
Above, Mount Girwar steep o'erhangs his cell;
Below, the Banâs flows."

Ana Sagar, Pol bich, aur bar jitna bistar;
Sau hati ka gend hai; lijo kal du kal.

"In the midst, between Ana Sagar and the mountain Kakra Pôl, in a spot about the size of the expanse of a bar tree; there lies treasure equal to the load of a hundred elephants. Take it when you can!"

From the name of Vana Rishi occurring in juxtaposition with that of the Banâs River in the above couplet, it must not be supposed that the two are in any way connected either in meaning or derivation; for, as General Cunningham has reminded me, the name of the Banâs River is derived from (and is probably also a corruption of) the Sanskrit *Parṇâsa*; and therefore Tod's derivation of the name of the Banâs River from that of the nymph Vanasi must be incorrect, although apparently derived from local traditions.

I should be inclined, however, to put the word *Parṇâsa* in the feminine gender as *Parṇâsi*, as nearly all rivers have feminine attributes in India. In that case, Parṅâsi would be identifiable with *Asa-parna*, or *Asa Devi*, the Indian goddess of Hope. Parṇâsi might also be identifiable with the female divinity *Ana Paṛna*, who appears almost to correspond with the *Anna Perenna* of the Romans and Carthaginians, as well as with the *Naini* of the Hindus, the *Nanao* of the Indo-Scythians, the *Anahid* of the ancient Persians, and the *Anaïtes* of the Syro-Phœnicians.

Now, it is worthy of remark that the fine sheet of water within the great mountain-girded amphitheatre near Visalpûr is called the *Ana Sagar*, which name I do not believe to be derived from that of Anoji, one of the sons of Visala Dèva, but rather from the name of the Hindu goddess Ana, or Ana Paṛna. It is true that at Ajmèr, there is an artificial lake or great tank called the Ana Sagar, which is said to have been constructed by Anoji, one of the sons of Visala Dèva. But the Ana Sagar at Visalpûr, on the banks of which Vana Rishi dwelt in ancient times, is a natural lake, it being simply a natural widening out of the Banâs River; and it could not therefore have been named after an individual of the name of Anoji, but must derive its name either from some natural feature or from some supposed tutelary, or presiding, divinity of the place; and, in the latter case, Ana Paṛna would be the divinity in question. The fine mountain-girded lake of Naini Tâl in the Himalayas is similarly named after the Hindu female divinity Naini Devi.[1]

The *Pôl* referred to in the second popular saying quoted above is the conspicuous lofty-peaked mountain of *Kakra Pôl*,

[1] Naini is only a contraction of *Nârâyani*.—A. C.

already mentioned in this Report. This mountain is visible from a very great distance in many directions.

Among some scattered stones of some old cairns, on the slope of the hill near Visalpûr I found an ancient metal arrow-head.

Before concluding this report on Visalpûr, I would again return to the subject of the ancient temple, which still stands there in a nearly perfect condition. It is said to have been built by Visala Dèva himself, and I see no reason to doubt it. The oldest inscription in the temple is dated in *Samvat 1231*. Now Prithvi Raja reigned 22 years 2 months and sixteen days, and Delhi was taken from Prithvi Raja by the Musalmâns in A. D. 1193; and therefore if we deduct 22 years from 1193, we get 1171 as the date of Prithvi Raja's accession to the throne, which is 3 years earlier than the date of the inscriptions. But I was assured by the Brahman Pandits of Visalpûr in charge of the temple that the inscriptions had been engraved on the pillars in the temple long after it was built, and consequently that the temple is older than any inscriptions now existing in it. The temple is 74 feet in length by 51 feet in breadth. It is of peculiar construction. It has a grand vestibule, about 29 feet 6 inches square, interiorly, surmounted by a nearly hemispherical dome, which is about 35 feet in diameter from outside to outside, and has about 28 feet span interiorly. This dome is supported on eight tall pillars, nearly 15 feet in height. These pillars consist of a lower shaft, 11 feet 10 inches in height, with a shorter shaft, 3 feet in height, placed on the top of the former. The upper shaft is plain, but the lower shaft is most richly sculptured with floral festoons, chains, bells, and circular wheel ornaments. The base, which is 3 feet in height, is twelve-cornered. Above that the shaft is square for 2 feet 6 inches. This is succeeded by an octagonal band, 1 foot 7 inches in breadth, with a beautiful eight-spoked wheel ornament on each face. Above this the shaft is round or cylindrical. The interior surface of the ceiling of the dome presents an engrailed outline, or is formed into undulating curves, but it is nevertheless evidently constructed after the Hindu step-stone fashion,—the interior ends of the horizontal stones forming the dome having evidently simply been cut off into curves. There is another small dome immediately over the entrance, about 5 feet in diameter, and about 4 feet in height. The entrance has four half pillars, two on each side, and the small dome rises im-

mediately over these four front half pillars. The grand-domed vestibule contains twenty rectangular half pillars ranged against the side wall, besides the eight central detached pillars. One has to descend 3 feet 6 inches into the sanctum. The *sikar*, or spire, rises to the height of 30 feet 3 inches above the roof of the main front vestibule, and is altogether 48 feet 3 inches in height from the base. The shape of the *sikar* is that of an elliptical cone, of which the apex is truncated. From the truncated top of the *sikar* there rises a thick neck, 3 feet 1 inch in height, but which is of lesser diameter than the truncated top of the *sikar*. On this neck rests the circular base of the *kalsa*, which overhangs the neck; and from the latter, the *kalsa* itself rises, decreasing upwards regularly to a sharp point. This old temple has at the back of the sanctum, exteriorly, a small projecting niche, 4 feet 6 inches in height, formed of a canopy supported on pillars. This peculiar kind of projecting pillared canopied niche, on the exterior of the back wall of the sanctum, is found on many Hindu temples, but I have never been able to divine the meaning of it.

19.—DHAND, OR GHÂR.

DHAND is the name of an ancient deserted site, or *khera*, situated on the western side of the Karkota range of hills and near the western entrance to the pass of Ghâr through which one of the roads passes which leads from Deoli to Nâgar and Uniyâra, crossing the Karkota range at this point, from the village of Ghâr.

Ghâr is the name of the present or modern village, which is situated partly on the ancient site of Dhand. I say partly, because Dhand is evidently the site of an ancient town of some considerable size, while the present village of Ghâr is not of sufficient extent to occupy more than a small part of the ancient site.

Dhand, or Ghâr, is about 25 or 30 miles distant eastwards from Deoli, and about 12 or 15 miles south-west from Nâgar. It now belongs to the State of Jaypûr.

On the crest of a lofty precipitous hill (one of the highest of the Karkota range) which rises immediately above Ghâr, there is a Muhammadan *dargâh*, with a *masjid* attached to it, and of which a dome and minar are very conspicuous. These loftily-perched buildings are said to have been built by Muhammadan faqirs, but I suspect that the *dargâh* must contain the tomb of some once famous Muhammadan saint,—probably from Ajmèr.

To the right, or south side of the road, on approaching the village of Ghâr from the west, there is a somewhat raised plateau of ground, on which there are now four or five temples of middle age, and a large square Baori well. This is the deserted site of the ancient town of Dhand. It is evidently a very ancient site indeed,—so ancient that some of the huge bricks which had been found, or dug up, there by the people, are preserved in one of the temples before mentioned, and are the only things worshipped in that particular temple, for the people believed that bricks of such a size and weight must have been the work of gods. There are no images in this temple, but simply only a lot of these large ancient bricks, set up on end, in a row, on a sort of low shelf, against the inner back wall. There are also some more of these old bricks placed outside the doorway of the temple on either side as one enters. When I questioned the people concerning the origin of these bricks, they replied that they were

made by *devàs*, or gods, in ancient times unknown. The largest of these bricks measured 1 foot 4 inches in length, by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, or nearly 11 inches, in breadth, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in thickness. Others were of only slightly lesser dimensions. Some of the bricks had a plain, smooth surface, with somewhat rounded-off edges, and were generally without marks, except a few incomprehensible scratches; while others had a flatter and rougher surface, with sharper angles, and *all* of the latter were marked with a series of concentric curves, as if made with the ends of the fingers while using the thumb as a central pivot, when the brick was in a soft state.

The whole surface of the ground around is covered with fragments of bricks and old pottery.

I also found here several flakes of flinty quartzite, and two rude implements of the same material, the work of the ancient stone-chipping aborigines.

On a low, conical, rocky hill, to the left-hand side of the road, there is the site of an ancient temple, now occupied by a small modern shrine.

I was unable to find out by whom Dhand was founded. All that the people could say was that it was a very, very ancient place, and that the remains found there were "the work of gods!"

Since writing the above, however, I have visited the site of the great ancient city of Nâgar, situated about 12 miles to the north-east of Dhand, and a report on which immediately follows this; and I have, for many reasons, come to the conclusion that Dhand was a place of the same age as Nâgar, and that it was founded by the same dynasty of kings who founded the latter; and I feel pretty certain that the same class of ancient coins as are found at Nâgar must also be found at Dhand.

I only remained about a couple of hours at Dhand, during a halt, on my way to Nâgar, as I had no more time to spare; for it was getting towards evening, and I had still some 12 miles of my journey to Nâgar to complete. But I believe that if I could have spent a day or two at Dhand, and could have examined the ground closely, I should have found some ancient coins there, of the same type as those which I afterwards found at Nâgar. I am convinced that the inhabitants of Ghâr must find ancient coins on the site of Dhand every year during the rains.

20.—NÂGAR OR NÂGARA, OR KARKOTA NÂGARA.

NÂGAR is the name of a small fortified town, in a somewhat dilapidated condition, and also of a very extensive ancient *khèra*, or the long-deserted site of a great ancient city, adjoining the former, and embracing an area of nearly 4 square miles in extent, situated within the territory of the Raja of Uniyâra, who is a tributary of the Maharaja of Jaypûr. The present town, and the site of the ancient city of Nâgar, which adjoin each other, lie to the east of the Karkota range of hills; and the place is situated about 15 miles to the south-west of Uniyâra, about 25 miles to the south-south-east by south of Tonk, about 45 miles to the north-north-east of Búndi, and between 35 and 40 miles to the east-north-east half north-east from Deoli. By the road which I followed from Deoli to Nâgar, it gave me a march of fully 45 miles or more in two days, or more than 20 miles each day; but Nâgar may perhaps not be much over 30 miles from Deoli in a direct line.

The site of the ancient city of Nâgar forms a conspicuous elevated tract of ground, comprising an area of nearly 4 square miles, composed of extensive lofty mounds or *tilas* forming long ridges, which are strewn with fragments of ancient bricks of large size, and covered with trees and jungle, rising out of a flat, almost treeless plain, and situated about 4 or 5 miles to the east of the nearest part of the Karkota range of hills.

This ancient city of Nâgar, according to the local traditions of the place, is said to have been founded by a Raja Machhakanda, the son of Mândhâta. But I have reason to believe that this Raja Machhakanda was more probably, rather, one of a dynasty of kings who ruled in that part of the country in ancient times, and that he may possibly have enlarged and embellished the ancient city to a great extent, but which had probably been founded previously by his own ancestors. The local traditions, however, make Raja Machhakanda to have been a contemporary of Krishna!

I may mention, by the way, that there was a king called *Muchukunda*, who was famed in ancient Hindu tradition as a devout worshipper of Hari. Now, Machhakanda is mentioned under the name of *Múchkúnd* in the *Prem Sagar* (Chapter LII).

I have already mentioned that Machhakanda, the traditional founder of Nâgar, is said to have been the son of Mândhâta. The name of this Raja Mândhâta is famous throughout many parts of Rajputana, almost more so than that of another Raja, Moradhwaja, who was also the reputed founder of several places.

In General Cunningham's account of Amber (Archæological Report, 1864-65, Vol. II, page 250), he mentions Mândhâta as the father of Ambarisha, the founder of *Ambarikhanèra*, or Amber. Again, Tod, in his *Rajasthan* (Vol. II, pages 598 and 599, "Personal Narrative"), mentions Raja Mândhâta as the founder of Heentah and Doondia in Mâlwa, to the south of Chitor, and he quotes a tradition to the effect that Mândhâta planted a colony at Mynâr, in the *Treta-Yug;* and that Raja Mândhâta performed the *aswamedha* sacrifice at Doondia.[1] Tod makes Raja Mândhâta to have been of the Pramâra tribe. He says:—"Mândhâta Raja, a name immortalised in the topography of these regions, was of the Pramâr tribe, and sovereign of Central India, whose capitals were Dhâr and Ujain. * * * There are various spots on the Narbada which perpetuate his name." Now, we know that Tod makes the ancient kings of Mâlwa, generally, to have been of the Pramâra tribe; and therefore, according to his ideas, one of the most famous descendants of the Mâlwa line, Vikramâditya of Ujjain, must also have been a Pramâra. Tod also makes the Moris to have been a branch of the great Pramâra race, and consequently the old Mori Rajas of Morwun and Chitor must have been related in race to the Pramâra kings of Mâlwa; and, indeed, Tod represents the Moris as having at first held Morwun and Chitor as a fief, from or under the paramount sovereigns of Ujjain. Now, the genealogical lists of the so-called Pramâra line of Mâlwa, as collected by Wilford and Tod, preserve the name of a king called Sâlivahâna; and we know that the Bais tribe derive their descent directly from a King Sâlivahâna, who was the fourteenth in descent from Raja Gaj, who was a descendant from the family of Krishna. In the time of the

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[1] There is also a strange and suspicious similarity between the name of *Doondia*, south of Chitor, where Mândhâtâ performed the *aswamedha* sacrifice, and the *Dhundâr*, in the north, near Amber, which was founded by a son of Mândhâta; more particularly as there is a tradition connected with Dhundâr, also, to the effect that a great "penitential sacrifice" was once performed there, but which latter is falsely and incorrectly attributed to the Chohân King, Visala Déva!

Chinese traveller, Hwen Thsang, in A. D. 634, Bairât, in the north-west, was also the capital of a Raja of a Bais tribe. But it is now well known that the great King Harsha Varddhana, of Kanauj, in A. D. 607, was of the Bais tribe; and General Cunningham makes Harsha Varddhana the fourth in descent from Vikramâditya of Mâlwa, who lived in A. D. 500. Harsha Varddhana was the son of Prabhâkara, and General Cunningham makes Prabhâkara to have been the son of Silâditya of Mâlwa, who was the son of Vikramâditya of Mâlwa; and consequently Vikramâditya must also have been of the Bais tribe. And therefore the Bais tribe, and the so-called Pramâras of Tod, must have been one and the same people![1] Consequently, also, Mândhâta (if he was a Pramâra as Tod said) would thus also be made to appear to have been an ancient raja of the Bais tribe. We thus find the Pramâras, Bais and Moris all mixed up with one another by Tod's theories!

Now, I would identify Mândhâta, the founder of Heentah and Doondia, and the coloniser of Mynâr, to the south of Chitor, with the Mândhâta, the father of Machhakanda, who founded the ancient city of Nâgar, which I discovered. But we have already seen that Ambarisha, another son of Mândhâta, founded Ambarikhanèra, or Amber, near Jaypûr. In the fort of Vijaymandar Garh (anciently called Santipur, near Baiâna, I found an ancient *lât*, or monolith pillar, with an inscription, dated 428, of a king called Vishnu Varddhana, who was probably of the Baîs tribe; although the people of Baiâna seemed to think that the ancient rajas of Baiâna were descended from Bânâsur, who was the son of Raja Bal. The ancient name of Baiâna was Bânâsur, and it is said to have been called so because it was founded by Bânâsur himself, whose capital was at Santipûr, which is the ancient name of the great fortress of Vijaymandar Garh, near Baiâna. It is very possible, however, that the ancient name of the Bais tribe may have been Bains, or Bhains, which might have been a contraction of Bhains-Asur, or Bains-Asur; and if so, it might perhaps point to some supposed connection with another Asur of that name.

It would thus appear that various branches of the powerful Bais tribe had extended their sway at various

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[1] I do not consider that the Vikramâditya of Mâlwa, who lived after A. D. 500, is the same as the Vikramâditya of Ujain, from whom the Samvat era of B. C. 57 derives its name. But the same stories are told of both, and there has evidently been some confusion between the two.—A. C.

periods from Mâlwa in the south to Kanauj in the north, and from Bairât in the west to Baiâna in the east.

But I fear that if, as I have before shown, some at least of Tod's so-called Pramâras must really have belonged to the Bais tribe, then his theory as to Mândhâta having been a Pramâra will fall to the ground. For we find the name of Mândhâta, and also that of one of his reputed sons,—namely, Ambarisha,—occurring in the *Surya Vansa*, or Solar line, in the Pauranic genealogical lists as given in Prinsep's Useful Tables. Consequently, Machhakanda, the son of Mândhâta, who founded Nâgar, must have been a king of the Solar race; and therefore he could not have been either a Pramâra or a Bais! But the name of Harishchandra, who apparently founded Tambavati Nâgari, near Chitor, also occurs in the genealogical list of the Solar race as the eleventh in descent from Mândhâta. (See my report on Tambavati Nâgari.) It would therefore appear as if both Nâgar or Karkota Nâgari and Tambavati Nâgari were actually founded simply by different branches of one and the same family of the Solar race! Now, we know the date of Harishchandra, and that he was contemporary with Parasurâma of the Lunar race, about B. C. 1176. And consequently, by counting back from Harishchandra to Mândhâta at the rate of even only twenty years per generation, Mândhâta must have lived about B. C. 1376; and therefore his son Machhakanda must have lived about B. C. 1350! Are we, then, to suppose that the ancient city of Nâgar was actually founded about thirteen hundred and fifty years before the Christian era? This might at first sight appear to be preposterous, but nevertheless it is acknowledged that Ambarisha, another son of Mândhâta, was contemporary with Gadhi of the Lunar race, who founded Kanauj. And surely that which is allowed for Kanauj may also be allowed for Nâgar.

But although, as I have suggested above, the ancient city of Nâgar may just possibly at some time have been possessed by the Bais tribe, though apparently rather by some ancient kings of the Solar race, I think I can show reason to believe that the race of Machhakanda must either have been succeeded or preceded by a Nâga dynasty. I both found and obtained several thousand very ancient coins at Nâgar. The majority of these coins are inscribed with a legend which reads plainly as "*Jaya Mâlavâna*," or "*Mâlavâna Jaya*," which, if intended for "Jaya Mâlavâ-nâm," or "Mâlavânâm *Jaya*," would mean "the triumph

of the Mâlavâns;" but to what race these Mâlavâns belonged, I could not pretend to say with any certainty, although their name is said to be mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. If the name of the Mâlavânas meant "the people of Mâlwa," then how did their capital city come to be so far north, out of Mâlwa altogether, as Nâgar is? I think the matter may be explained in the following manner. Machhakanda, the founder of Nâgar, was the son of Mândhâta, and Tod says that Mândhâta was a king of Central India, whose capitals were Dhar and Ujjain, in Mâlwa. Mândhâta was therefore a Mâlavân,—that is, a king of Mâlwa; and if his son made a conquest of the country about Nâgar and the Karkota hills, and founded a new dynasty at Nâgar, then the legend, as *Jaya Mâlavânâm*, or "the triumph of the Mâlavâns," on the Nâgar coins, would mean the conquest of Nâgar by Machhakanda, a prince of Mâlwa, and his people. I therefore believe that the original people of Nâgar were Karkota Nâgas; and that they were conquered by a prince of Mâlwa, who founded a new dynasty. The most ancient of the Nâgar coins, which have legends in characters of the period of Asoka, have generally only the symbol of a *Bodhi-tree*, with a Buddhist railing; but those of the coins which have legends in characters of a later date, have generally the figure of a bull, surrounded by dots, on their reverse; and in this particular, as well as in their exceedingly small size, they closely resemble the well-known small coins of the nine Nâgas of Narwar, so many of which have the figure of a bull, surrounded by dots, on their reverse; the only difference between the small Nâgar bull coins and the small Narwar bull coins being that the Narwar coins are a little thicker. Moreover, the style of the characters in the legends on the later Nâgar coins closely resembles the style of the characters on the earlier Narwar coins; and I therefore believe that the later coinage of Nâgar was issued contemporaneously with that of the earlier coinage of the Nâgas of Narwar. Now, an affinity in type of coinage very often indicates an affinity of relationship as to race of those by whom such similar coins were issued. Moreover, the site of the ancient city of Nâgar is situated close to the Karkota range of hills, or only about 4 miles to the east from the foot of the Karkota range; and the place itself is occasionally called *Karkot Nâgara* by the natives of that part of the country. Now, the name of the Karkota range of hills is derived from that of a personage called Karkota, who was a

brother of Takshaka, and of Nâga, and Vasuki, and Sesha, who were all ancestors of various branches of the Nâga or Ophite race; and the term "Karkota" is often still used to signify an individual of the Nâga or Ophite race. General Cunningham, in his Archæological Report for 1863-64, Vol. II, page 10, says:—

"According to the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purânas*, the Takashakas were the descendants of Takshaka, one of the many sons of Kasyapa by his serpent wife, *Kadru*. Other sons were called Nâga, Karkota, Vasuki, Sesha, Mahapâdma, &c., all of whom were equally regarded as kings of the serpents, while their names are used quite indiscriminately to designate the Ophite race. Thus, Nâgas, Karkotas and Takshakas, are all names of but one and the same people. As descendants of Kadru, they are also called Kâdravas, or Kâdraveyas. This name I find upon three very old cast coins in my own possession, given in its Pali form as *Kadasa*. The coins are of two different types, but in all the specimens the name is accompanied by the figure of a snake."

There is also another circumstance connected with the name of the ancient city of Nâgar which is worthy of remark, and that is, that the name of the place is *not* pronounced with the vowel short, as the Sanskrit word *nâgar*, for a city, but it is pronounced with a long sound, as *Nâgar*, or *Nâgara*, as if it were a contraction, or corruption, of *Nâgwara*; and therefore I believe that the ancient name of the place may have been *Nâgawara*, which would mean the place of the *Nâgas*, much in the same manner as *Bhîlwâṛa*, which means the place of the Bhîls, is often vulgarly pronounced as *Bhîlâṛa*.

It is at least a suspicious circumstance that the name of Nâgar should be pronounced with the vowel "a" long, as if it had been connected with the Nâga race, and that it is situated close to a range of hills called Karkota, which has the same meaning.

In addition to the above, I may mention that from two or three coins of one particular or distinct class or type of the Nâgar coinage, I make out the name of a king in a legend, which reads as *Nâgavaha maha jaya*, or *Maha Nâgavaha jaya*, which would at once connect the name of this particular king at least with the Nâga race.

The main element in the ancient population of Nâgar may therefore have been of the Ḳarkota Nâga tribe, who had been conquered by a son of the Mâlwa king, Mândhâta; and hence the meaning of the legend on the Nâgar coins, *Jaya Mâlavânâm*, or "the triumph of the Mâla-

vâns,"—that is, the triumph of the invaders from Mâlwa, under the leadership of Machhakanda, over the Karkota Nâgas of Nâgar. And I believe it was owing to the influence of a predominant Karkota Nâga population at Nâgar that certain types of the Nâgar coinage bear a close resemblance to the most common type of the coinage of the nine Nâgas of Narwar.

I have already given reason for believing that Machhakanda belonged to that race or tribe of people who are now known as Bais. But I believe that the dynasty of Machhakanda must have been ousted and succeeded by two other successive dynasties about the commencement of the Christian era; and I believe the name of these two other later dynasties to have been "*Mâs*," or votaries of the goddess Mâ, or Lakshmi; or *Mayas* or votaries of Maya, the mother of Buddha; and *Mâgas*, who might or might not be identifiable with the Mâgras of the Aravallis, and who may possibly have revived the rites of the Nâga worship, or ophiolatry. I base this latter opinion upon the fact that a certain class of the later or somewhat less ancient Nâgar coins display legends or names which all commence with the syllable "Ma;" such, for instance, as "Mapacha" "Magojama," "Magojasa," and "Maya," or "Mayamatra."

There is the following interesting and remarkable legendary tradition still extant concerning Raja Machhakanda, the traditional founder of Nâgar, and which also accounts for the manner in which the ancient city came to be destroyed.

It is said that when Krishna was in pursuit of the demon Kâl, he happened to read a passage in some ancient prophetic book, which foretold that a certain Raja Machhakanda of Nâgar alone would be able to conquer the demon Kâl. On perusing this, he immediately gave up the pursuit, and made his way as quickly as possible to the capital of Raja Machhakanda, where, on arrival, he heard that the Raja was sleeping in a cave. But the demon monster had followed the footsteps of Krishna up to the very mouth of the cave. When Krishna arrived at the cave where Machhakanda was, he threw some of his clothing on the sleeping Raja, and the Raja awoke and arose immediately, and seeing the demon Kâl which had followed Krishna, Raja Machhakanda attacked the demon and killed him, and is said to have reduced his body to ashes.

The *Prem Sâgar*, however, gives a somewhat different account of Machhakanda, or *Mâchkûnd*, as the name is spelt

in that work, and it would appear from this account that Machhakanda's family and capital must have been destroyed before Krishna met him in the cave. The *Prem Sâgar* also calls the demon (or rather the demon king) whom Machhakanda or Mûchkûnd killed, Kâljaman, who was one of the inimical kings who opposed and fought against Krishna. It would also appear from the *Prem Sâgar* that it was Kâljaman who was in pursuit of Krishna, and not Krishna in pursuit of Kâl! (See Chapter LII of the *Prem Sâgar*.)

But it would seem that some of the demoniacal friends, or relatives, or congeners of the demon Kâl had had their revenge on the Raja at some time; for this legendary tradition goes on further to say that the city of Nâgar, with all its inhabitants, was destroyed by a terrific shower of ashes produced by some demoniacal agency. It is said that Raja Machhakanda on the occasion of his daughter's marriage sent the court barber to invite all the princes of the demons to the marriage feast. The demon princes, who were jealous of the Raja's grandeur and prosperity, came to the feast, followed by their usual terrible train of thunderstorms and lightning, and they very soon devoured all the provisions that the Raja had in store; next they devoured all the inhabitants; and, lastly, with relentless fury they destroyed the city of Nâgar by raining ashes upon it: and they say that the spirits of the ancient inhabitants still wander about the old Khèra as *bhûts*, or restless demons.[1]

Now, there is always a grain of truth at the bottom of all such traditions, however extravagant or absurd they may otherwise at first sight appear to be; and I believe, therefore, that the city of Nâgar may have been destroyed by some volcanic convulsion, such as an earthquake, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and a tremendous hurricane of wind, bringing either thick clouds of dust, or perhaps even volcanic ash, along with it.

There is certainly a great amount of ashy matter in the soil on the spot, along with innumerable bricks; but, if ash, it seemed to me more like the ash which would be produced by the calcining of earthy matter, and stony matter mingled with osseous substances, than the ashes of wood. I also found numerous knobs, nodules and drops of iron and copper that had been melted, and lumps of vitreous slag, scattered over

[1] From the account given of Machhakanda or Mûchkûnd in the *Prem Sâgar* (Chapter LII), however, it would appear that the family and capital of Machhakanda had been destroyed before he killed the demon king Kâl or Kâljaman.

the ground; but this latter fact might prove nothing more than that iron and copper had been smelted and *kanch* made there in ancient times. I also, however, picked up several several small pieces of a substance which was not *kanch*, but more resembled pitch-stone or obsidian; and also a few small bits of a kind of hard, glossy, black stone, which was very like jet: but, moreover, there were also two or three instances in which I obtained ancient coins melted together, and thus totally defaced, which were found on the spot—all of which circumstances I thought rather remarkable. There is, however, another circumstance worthy of note, indicating the occurrence of volcanic action at some, geologically speaking, perhaps comparatively recent period. For there is the bed of a river course, now called the Khajura Khal,[1] which runs along the southern extremity of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar, which has evidently been nearly dammed up in certain parts, or at least its former level considerably dislocated by the upheaval of a series of low volcanic dykes of rock with the stratification in a vertical position, and the condition of which rock shows that it has undergone fusion by heat, it having apparently originally been a kind of clayey limestone schist, but which, in its present state, shows the traces of such transformation by heat as to be almost unrecognisable. It also contains lumps and nodules of stone, and of other rock, strange and foreign to its composition, which had evidently been caught up by and imbedded in the rising mass when still in a soft state of fusion. Now, the bed of the river generally looks as if it had been at some former period the course of some considerable and continuous stream of running water, sufficient to be of importance to the ancient city with the sites of ancient temples, &c., along the banks of it, and formerly serving to feed and fill several ancient artificial reservoirs of considerable extent. But now, as I said before, its bed is in certain parts so partially dammed up with low ridges of rock, and its level at such points therefore so far dislocated, that even during the heaviest rains in the rainy season it is some time before the detached pools of water become connected with each other so as to form a continuous stream; and a few days after the rain has stopped, although long pools of water of considerable depth and extent remain, they become in time disconnected, and there is then no longer a continuous flow of water. It is thus evident, at

[1] Or Kharjjura Khal?

all events, that the bed of this stream is not now as it once was. On the other hand, again, there is a mere ditch, or small *nulla* in comparison, called the Garwa, which is generally dry, and which runs through the centre of the northern part of the site of the ancient city, which fills and swells to such a furious torrent during the rains that it becomes totally impassable, and the water at such times rises so high in certain places as to be above the back of a horse. But this insignificant little ditch called the Garwa runs into and through the dried-up bed of an ancient river of great size, but which is now perfectly dry at all times, and to which the Garwa was evidently at some former and remote period merely a small feeder coming in at the northern side or left bank of this great ancient river bed. Now, it is evident that this ancient dry river bed, which is now turned into fields and under cultivation, was once the river, on both banks of which the ancient city of Nâgar was built. What, then, is the reason why this ancient wide river course has become so totally dry—a mere dry valley, in fact, with nothing more than a small, narrow, insignificant nulla running into it at one part of it? Is it not possible that this changed condition of things, involving the total drying up of an ancient river of considerable width, may have been brought about by an alteration in the level of the ground, caused by a slight and partial volcanic upheaval?

I have, however, already, in my account of Visalpûr, pointed out an extraordinary rocky chasm and amphitheatre, which cleaves a mountain chain asunder at Visalpûr,[1] as an ancient volcanic centre, and which latter lies about 35 or 40 miles due west of Nâgar. The cloven mountain chain referred to may be called the Toda or Garwa range.

It is worthy of remark that people now living in the present town of Nâgar and its neighbourhood said that excavations on the Khèra or site of ancient Nâgar had brought to light buried houses almost in an entire state. In one of these excavated ruins it is said that a number of large copper vessels were found piled up, one on the top of another, but that they all fell to dust as soon as they were handled. The present modern fortified town of Nâgar is actually built across and over one corner or extremity of the site of the ancient city (namely, western extremity), so that the ditch or moat of the modern town on its eastern side is actually

[1] I refer to the great rock-bound, amphitheatre-like basin of the Ana Sagar, near Visalpûr.

cut down through the remains of the ancient city, and thus presents a sort of section-cutting of it at that part; and I can say from personal observation that, in this section-cutting, caused by the ditch of the modern town, there are the remains of some ancient buildings (one of them two-storied) buried at a considerable depth below the present surface of the ground, and also that the earth there is mixed or impregnated with a considerable amount of ash.

Lastly, to sum up these items of evidence as to the destruction of the ancient city by some sudden catastrophe, I may mention that human bones are found in the ground on excavation in many parts of the site of the ancient city, particularly if excavations be made on some of the *tilas*. I also found a few fragments of human bone in what I before called the section-cutting of the old ground in the east side of the ditch of the new town. In a pit towards the southern side of what I have named the *Taksâl Tila*, I dug out a human skull along with a quantity of old pottery. In the side of a sort of nulla or dry pool, at the foot of the northern slope of the *Kangali Tila No. 1*, I dug out some fragments of human arm-bones and ribs. But in a great hole on the southern side of the *Kangali Tila No. 2*, I found the greater portion of a human skeleton, firmly imbedded in the hard clay, along with numerous fragments of large bricks; but the bones had become so fragile with age that they would not bear digging out. These last-mentioned bones lay in the side of the *tila* at the depth, in an oblique direction, of about 6 to 7 feet from the surface of the side of the *tila*.

Now, the human bones which I discovered were either entire or nearly so, and many would have been entire but for constant breakage in digging them out of the hard clay, and none of these bones had undergone cremation. I cannot say that none of them had ever been touched by fire in that degree that the bones of a human being burnt to death in a conflagration might be affected by fire; but I can say that none of the bones were in the condition of mere fragmentary bone cinders, as is always the case after a body has undergone regular cremation in accordance with the funeral customs of the Hindus. Taking it for granted that the ancient inhabitants of the city of Nâgar were Hindus, who invariably disposed of the remains of their dead by the process of regular and thorough cremation, it certainly is a remarkable circumstance that so many human bones should be

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found in the earth in such an entire state that they could not have undergone regular cremation; although, on the other hand, as I said before, the condition of the bones would not in any way militate against the possibility of their having belonged to individuals who were destroyed either by a conflagration or by some other similar sudden catastrophe.

The conclusion, therefore, which I arrive at, after summing up all the foregoing items of evidence, is, that the ancient city of Nâgar really was destroyed by some sudden catastrophe.

I have before said that the local traditions of the place attribute the founding of the ancient city of Nâgar to a Raja Machhakanda, the son of Mândhâta. Well, the kings bearing those traditional names may very likely have been the most ancient and, perhaps, prehistoric kings of that part of the country; indeed, they must have been so if Machhakaṇda was a contemporary of Krishna—a matter, however, which we may for the present consider somewhat doubtful. But fact is better than tradition, and I have facts of great interest to bring forward connected with a dynasty of kings, prolific in names, who actually lived and ruled at Nâgar. For are not their names to be found on numerous palpable coins of real unmistakable metal, which were picked up on the very ground itself on the site of the ancient city of Nâgar, and which coins are in our possession?

In elucidation of what I have just said above, I must explain that I had the good fortune to obtain no less than about six thousand ancient coins (including good and bad) at Nâgar, on the actual site of the ancient city; but after going through the laborious process of boiling and cleaning the six thousand odd coins, I found that only about two thousand two hundred and ninety-six of the coins were worth keeping, the remainder being defaced by age and corrosion (but I regret to say that about four hundred good coins had been stolen from me). Of the whole six thousand and odd coins, about one-half were picked up by myself and my servants, collectively, on the ground, and on the actual soil and site of the ancient city; and the remainder were picked up by coolies and people of the place, whom I employed to look for coins for me on the ground. The good coins which I selected out of the mass bore legends in characters of a very ancient type, which displayed and discovered to me the names of no less than nearly forty different kings.

The oldest or most antique of these Nâgar coins bear in their legends the words *Jaya Mâlavâna*, in most ancient characters of the period of Asoka, but which, of course, express some commemoration of triumph, or some pæan of victory, and not the name of a king. There is, however, one remarkable fact connected with these coins and their peculiar legend,—namely, that the very same legend, under the slightly altered form of *Mâlavânajaya*, occurs on coins of several different types, and in characters which apparently range in date, according to their form, from the first up to about the third or fourth century of the Christian era; so that this whole series of coins, all bearing virtually the same legend, may be said to embrace or represent a period of about five or six centuries. But besides these coins, there are numerous other coins, some of which are somewhat similar in type to those last mentioned, while others are of a totally different type, and which bear the names of numerous kings, amounting to somewhere near forty different names in all, and which were entirely unknown to history. It might be as well that I should here give a general explanatory list of the various legends found on these coins, which will include the names of the different kings, with the average weight of the coins, and their proximate age or date.

I will therefore give a list of the coins found at Nâgar, with their legends and devices, &c., at the conclusion of this report. This list I have put in as conjecturally approximate a chronological order as possible.

I have already remarked that the legend of *Jaya Mâlavâna*, or *Mâlavâna Jaya*, is continued or perpetuated on these coins throughout a consecutive series, which would apparently embrace a period of no less than about four or five hundred years; for it is found on coins with legends in characters as ancient as the oldest of the *lât* inscriptions of the Edicts of Asoka; and this same legend is also found on other coins, apparently of the first century, second century, and third century of the Christian era. This peculiar legend, therefore, of course, could not refer to any king called Mâlavâ; but it must have some other signification, such as, "Victory over Mâlavâ"—that is, the victory of the people of Nâgar over the country or realm of Mâlavâ or Mâlwa; or it might mean, "The triumph of the Mâlavâns"—*i. e.*, the victory of the people of Mâlwa over Nâgar. I should consider it otherwise to be altogether a very extraordinary and unaccountable circumstance that the same

legend should be perpetuated on a series of coins during the long period of some four or five hundred years in every kind of character, for the earliest of these legends have the letter *n* as ; while in the latest of these legends this letter has gradually changed to the form of 𑀦 and न and न

I must confess, however, that in spite of the explanation of the legend of *Jaya Mâlavâna*, or *Mâlavâna Jaya*, which I have attempted to give above, it still remains an enigma to be solved. In the inscription of *Samudra Gupta*, on the Allahabad *lât*, a place called Malava, Malavârjunaya, is mentioned. Now, it will be seen from my list, that on one particular type or class of these Nâgar coins, the inscription is not *Mâlavâna Jaya*, but appears to read as *Mâlavâ hu jaya*, or *Mâlavâ hna Jaya*. Might not this possibly be identifiable with the *Malavârjunaya* of the inscription of Samudra Gupta? For, on a closer scrutiny of the Nâgar coins of this particular type mentioned above, it appears to me that the curious compound letter which commences the second line of the legend on these particular coins most nearly corresponds either to the compound ञ्ज, or र्ज्नु, or र्जुँ, in the Nâgari character; and that, therefore, the whole legend might be read as

"*Mâlavâṅjna jaya*,"
or "*Mâlavârjnu jaya*,"
or "*Mâlavârjuṅ jaya*."

On one class of coins bearing the name of *Gavaha*, or *Nagavaha*, round the margin, the middle space on the coin is occupied by a curiously shaped device, which may perhaps have been intended to constitute a monogram, and might be formed of the letters *M*, *chh*, *k*, *n*, and *d*, which would together make up the name of Machhakanda, who was the reputed founder of Nâgar, and whose name has been preserved in the Nâgar traditions. But Machhakanda is said to have lived in the time of Krishna, while these coins of the Gavaha type cannot be older than the second century of the Christian era. But, again, on some of the coins which, from their style, evidently belong to the Gavaha or Nagavaha type (and which I believe to be coins of Nagavaha, as well as those which bear his name), there is (instead of the name of Gavaha) a repetition of the old legend *Mâlavânajaya*, and therefore it is just possible that in the same manner as Gavaha assumed this old legend on some of his coins, he may also

have assumed the monagram of *Machhakanda* as that of the founder of Nâgar! From a repeated examination of several coins of this type, however, which present various fragmentary portions of the legend, I think I have since been able to make out the whole legend to be as *Nâgavaha maha jaya*, or *Maha Nâgavaha jaya.*

On the majority of these Nâgar coins, and extending over a space of about five hundred years, we find the Buddhist symbols of the *Bodhi tree* and the *Chakra.* Consequently we are led to the conclusion that the ancient kings of Nâgar were Buddhists, from the time of Asoka up to the third century of the Christian era. This is an important point ascertained; and I consider, therefore, that Buddhist remains must be buried deep in the ground somewhere in the great ancient *tilas* of Nâgar, where the fragments of ancient bricks lie so thick that one cannot put one's walking stick down without touching a brick, and where I found the small green old coins in some places lying as thick as shells on the sea-shore.

It will be needless for me here, I think, to go into any further minute description of the coins found at Nâgar, as I consider that I have given a sufficiently exact description of the whole of them, and also of each particular variety of them, consecutively, in the list or catalogue of the coins which will follow at the conclusion of this report, and in the remarks which I have already made respecting them. I may simply, therefore, make the few following additional remarks concerning them. The majority of the coins, with comparatively few exceptions, are of very small size,—many of them about the size of the coins of the Nâga kings of Narwar, but not so thick. To these, of course, as I said, there are some exceptions. Some of the coins found at Nâgar are round, while others are of a squared or oblong shape. When first found, they were all considerably corroded, and entirely covered with a hard crust, and it was with great difficulty that they could be cleaned; and the hard outer crust, in coming off, unfortunately often left numbers of them mere blank pieces of metal.

With regard to the dynasty, or rather dynasties, of kings whose names are read on these coins, I am a little at a loss to conjecture to what race they belonged. But it will be seen, in the preceding part of this report, that I have attributed them in part to a branch of the Bais tribe, and in part to the Nâga race.

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The first division of those of the coins which bear inscriptions, and on so many of which the legends *Jaya Mâlavâna* or *Mâlavâna Jaya* are found, and which have the *Bodhi tree* and Buddhist *railing* as symbols, I would place as a separate class from the rest. Then we have an oblong-squared or tablet-shaped class of coins, of which the majority of the numerous names found on them almost all commence with the syllable *Ma*,—which is a remarkable circumstance worthy of being noted. In addition to the above,—besides, and subsequent in date to, the coins of the oldest Hindu type mentioned at the beginning of my catalogue,—we have one class of coins on which the king is rudely represented in a sitting position, another on which a king's head is represented, and another bearing the *chakra*, or wheel-shaped symbol which, however, in some instances, looks more like a rude representation of the circular flower of the lotus expanded. A very large proportion of the coins, however, bear the figure of a bull, or of a lion, on their reverse. Again, we have other coins, some of which in certain respects somewhat resemble the former, while others differ, but of which the legends are various. I would venture a conjecture that the initial syllable *Ma*, with which so many of the names on the Nâgar coins commence, may possibly eventually lead to their identification. It appears—by the changed type of certain series of coins, by the different style of the names on each different type, and by the fact that one particular initial syllable is constantly attached to, and is distinctive of, each particular set of names—as if there had been five distinct dynasties who successively ruled at Nâgar, and whom we may for the present, for convenience sake, distinguish as the *Ma*, the *Mâla*, the *Nâga*, the *Maga*, and the *Mapa*. Lastly, we have a few isolated coins of foreign or outside origin, belonging to totally different and distinct dynasties of kings, which must have come to Nâgar from distant parts in ancient times, either by chance or by the hands of travellers of the olden time.

There is, however, one circumstance which, although already alluded to, is worthy of special consideration,—namely, that nearly all of the more ancient, and a great proportion of the whole, of the coins found at Nâgar bear Buddhist symbols, principally the *Bodhi tree*, the Buddhist *railing*, and the *chakra*, or wheel symbol. On the most ancient coins, the *Bodhi tree* is represented in an erect

position, with the Buddhist *railing;* whereas on other coins of a later date it appears in a horizontal position, between two lines of the legend, but still with the Buddhist *railing;* while, again, on two other types or varieties of the coins, the sacred tree is found on numerous coins in one variety without the Buddhist *railing,* but surmounted by an *umbrella;* and in another variety the sacred tree has what appear to be roots radiating from its bottom. As Buddhist symbols, therefore, occur on so many of the ancient coins found at Nâgar, we may hence infer that the ancient kings of Nâgar were Buddhists, and that there were Buddhist establishments at Nâgar which may now probably be buried deep under the débris of the ancient city.

Lastly, there is another point in the apparent history and development of this coinage which calls for some notice here, with the view of fixing a period for its currency and duration. We have seen that the earliest or initial type of this coinage, according to the style of the characters in the legends, was apparently nearly of coeval issue, as to date, with the engraphy of the latest of the Edicts of Asoka; or, at least, of a date not later than shortly after the death of Asoka. Next we find that the legends of the latest specimens, in apparent age, of the genuine Nâgar coinage, are in a style of character which probably prevailed about the third or fourth (but certainly not later than the beginning of the fifth) century of the Christian era. Beyond those examples of coinage of the latter date,—namely, the fourth century, no coins whatever of genuine Nâgar coinage were found at Nâgar. At this point, therefore, we may decidedly say that the Nâgar coinage proper ceased or came to an end. Any other stray coins that I may have found there, which, according to their apparent age, would be of a date posterior to this, were not minted at Nâgar, but were interlopers from other places,—such, for instance, as the two Saurashtran coins mentioned in my list, and six Narwar Nâga coins, and fifteen fire-altar coins found at Nâgar,—the latter coins, representing a crude and a much-debased representation of a fire-altar on their reverse, being common to nearly the whole of Rajputana;—and also two defaced Varaha coins, a single defaced Indo-Scythic coin, and a single *Gadhia* or *Chaukaduka* piece, which must have come from the direction of Gujarat; and lastly, five defaced *bull and horseman* coins. The two Saurashtran and the five Nâga coins alone may possibly have come

from Saurashtra and Narwar, respectively, at a period nearly contemporary with the issue of the later types of the Nâgar coins. But any foreign or outside and middle-aged coinage whatever proved to be of exceedingly scarce occurrence in the Nâgar troves. Muhammadan and other middle-aged or more modern coins were still more scarce: for I think that not more than only five or six Muhammadan coins altogether were actually obtained at Nâgar. Or, to sum up the matter, I may state that, among upwards of six thousand coins found at Nâgar, not more than about thirty-five coins (or a little over half a coin per cent.!) were of outside origin, or derived from a foreign source. With the exception of these few, the whole of the coins found at Nâgar were exclusively of Nâgar mintage, and belonged to Nâgar alone.

Now, no great city can be supposed to have existed after its coinage entirely ceased, and consequently we cannot believe that the ancient city of Nâgar continued to exist after the time in which we find that its indigenous coinage had ceased. We are therefore driven to the conclusion that ancient Nâgar must have ceased to be a city about the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era.

What, then, are we to make of the existence of certain fragments of temple sculpture which are lying about the north-eastern part of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar,—particularly about the banks of a large, old, deserted tank called the *Mandkalla Tâl*,—and which remains I consider to be of an age not older than the tenth century? The only reply that can be made to this question is, that a few temples built on ancient sites, hallowed by time and tradition, do not necessarily indicate the existence of a city at the same period. It is well known that temples—nay, even temples themselves now in ruins—have continued to exist on the sites of ancient Indian cities long after the cities themselves had ceased to exist, or at a time when, perhaps, only a few straggling inhabitants continued to live here and there in small groups of hovels, or in small detached hamlets, amid the ruins of a deserted city.

The most ancient specimens of coinage of all found at Nâgar were a few coins which belonged to the irregular-shaped punch-marked type which are believed to represent the oldest form of Hindu coinage. The next in antiquity were square or oblong-shaped coins, with the symbol of a

Bodhi tree or the Buddhist *railing*, and with generally a few letters or the remains of legends in the *Lât* character, but of a type somewhat later than, or slightly posterior in age to, the last. There was one remarkable small square copper coin, bearing the symbol of a *Bodhi tree* with the *Buddhist railing*, which was surrounded by a legend which I read as *Nabhapayan*, but which might, perhaps, be read as *Nahapânasa.*" If it might be feasible to read the legend in the latter manner (although I do not think so), it would just be possible that it might bear reference to the great satrap king Nahapâna, whose name is mentioned in an inscription in one of the caves at Karli. As another of the kings mentioned in the Karli cave inscriptions—namely, Ananda, the son of Vâsithi—founded or built one of the gateways at the great Sanchi tope, near Bhilsa, it is just possible that Nahapâna may also have extended his power towards Nâgar. This is, of course, a mere conjecture, and may just be taken for what it is worth.

With the exception of the above doubtful case, I may say that, of the recognisable names of actual kings on the Nâgar coins, the earliest in date appear to be those of *Mahâyana, Lanavaha, Raja Mala, Nagava,* and *Gavaha* or *Nagavaha*, all of whom I attribute to the first century of the Christian era, with the exception of Nagavaha, whom I have had at first, perhaps without sufficient reason, in my list, placed at the commencement of the second century. In like manner, if we are to judge of the age of coinage by the style of the characters in which the legend is couched, then Maha Raya, of whom only one coin was found bearing his name, would appear to have been the last surviving individual of the ancient royal line of Nâgar. Now, it is a significant fact that Râya, or Ræ, signifies a prince or chief only, and not a king; and therefore Maha Raya simply signifies a great chief or prince. May we not hence conjecture that the last representative of the ancient royal line of Nâgar had become a mere tributary chief under some usurping suzerain? According to my deductions, Maha Raya must have lived between the third and fourth centuries, or more probably in the fourth century, which would bring us down to a period shortly anterior to Vikramâditya of Ujjain, or at a period when princes of the Bais tribe began to struggle for power, and when the Pramâras, some of whom afterwards held the well-known fortress of Rantambor, began to rise into notice. We may therefore suppose that the suzerain lord

under whom the last prince of the Nâgar line became tributary, was probably a king of Mâlwa, and an immediate ancestor of the famous Vikramaditya of Ujjain. The old legend of *Jaya Mâlavâna* or *Mâlavâna Jaya* which occurs on the earliest, and so many of the later Nâgar coins, would in itself almost seem to point to some ancient feud between the kings of Nâgar and the kings of Mâlwa.

After the decline of the Mâlwa dynasty, Nâgar may, no doubt, have come for a time into the possession of the Gehlots or Sisodias, who, it is well known, formerly possessed the ancient city of Châtsù, which lies further north than Nagar.[1] Afterwards Nagar probably passed successively through the hands of the Solankis and the Chohans, until now, at length, we find it in the possession of the *Shekkâwat* petty Raja of Uniyâra, who is a tributary to the State of Jaypur.

I have hitherto, in the preceding remarks, given my own opinions as to the history of Nâgar, and the signification of the legends and names on the coins, for which no one else is responsible but myself. It now, however, becomes my duty to state that General Cunningham has also, in the course of correspondence, expressed certain opinions on the subject, which I think I may take the liberty of quoting here as the opinions of the respected chief of the Archæological Survey on any archæological questions what soever are always of importance and worthy of the greatest attention and consideration.

The following are General Cunningham's detached remarks, which I give *seriatim*, in the order in which they were received :—

" Your coins are very small, but they are undoubtedly old, and therefore exceedingly interesting. The most puzzling thing about them is the fact that all the legends, and therefore all the names, begin with the same letter, *m*. I make out at least three distinct kinds—

Mâlavana-jaya.
Maru——jaya.
Mago——jaya.

The first may be 'conqueror of *Mâlava*,' or Mâlwa; the second 'conqueror of *Maru*,' or Marwar; and the third, 'conqueror of *Maga*' [or *Magra*'], or the Aravalli Mountains, which are inha-

[1] This is a fact which is commemorated in the following popular saying :—
"*Rana Chhore Châtsû :*
Jo chaya so le !"

"The Rana [of Mewar] has forsaken, or relinquished, Châtsû :
Whoever wants it, may take it !"

bited by the Magas [or Magras], whom we absurdly call Mors, although they call themselves Magas [Magras]—? Megallæ of Pliny. These three readings are consistent with one another, and would perhaps point to a single king of Ajmer and Chitor as the conqueror of Mâlwa, Maga, and Maru. One of the legends looks like *Mâlavahu jaya,* but I must have another strict scrutiny of them."

General Cunningham appears to have afterwards read the compound character, which he reads as *hu*, above *nu* (ह्नु).

"I do not consider them older than the first or, perhaps, second century B. C.,—that is, between 200 and 0 B. C. I look uponthem as Buddhist."

Again, in another later communication, he says:—

"The great mass of the coins belong to the tribe of the *Mâlavânas,* who are mentioned in the *Mahâbhârat.* The legends are—

'*Jaya Mâlâvana.*"

'The victorious Mâlâvanas.'

and '*Mâlâvana + ajaya.*'

'The invincible Mâlavânas.'

"And the legends vary in alphabetical characters from, perhaps, B. C. 250 to A. D. 250. * * * I presume that Chitor and Ajmer and all that part of Rajputâna must have belonged to the Mâlavânas. There are several, or even many, coins that do not belong to this tribe, such as those which apparently begin with *Maru* and *Magoja;* but the great mass of your coins are of the Mâlavânas, with the name variously spelt, and with different types. * * * I suspect that the Mâlavânas may be the *Malloi* of Multan."

In another still later communication, General Cunningham corrects the name of the *Magas* to *Magras*, and identifies them with the Megallæ of Pliny.

On the above remarks I have the following comments to make.

I do not see how the legend *Jaya Mâlavâna*, or *Mâlavâna Jaya,* can possibly signify "the victorious Mâlavânas," as, in the first place, it appears to me that *Jaya* is not an adjective, and cannot therefore mean "victorious;" but that it is a substantive, which simply means "victory" or "triumph." Secondly, the word *Mâlavâna* is not in the plural, which would be *Mâlavânas*, but in the singular, as *Mâlavâna*. But it appears to me that an *anuswara* may have been intended to be understood to follow the name, and that therefore the word might be read *Mâlavânâm*, which would be in the genitive plural; and, in that case, the whole legend might be read as *Jaya Mâlavânâm*, or *Mâlavânam Jaya*, which would signify "the triumph, or conquest, of the Mâlavâns."

In the third place, I do not see why the Mâlavânas should be identified with the "Malloi" of such a distant place as Multân, when we have the country of Mâlwa so much nearer at hand.

With regard to those coins with slightly different legends which General Cunningham appears to have read as *Mâlavâhûjaya*," or "*Mâlavâṇûjaya*" (मालवाहुजय, or मालवाणुजय), I do not think that the underneath attached sign (4)[1] can possibly represent the vowel *û*, as the very same sign occurs elsewhere by itself, unattached, representing the letter *n*, in a circular legend, on some small coins, which reads as *Mâlavâna Jaya*.

But coins are not the only antique curiosities which are found and picked up in numbers in the soil of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar. Numerous small articles of copper and some very few of gold are also found there, and also beads and other ornaments of precious stone, such as of agate, cornelian, rock crystal, garnet, &c. Of these I found several, which may be classified as follows:—

I.—Fragments of copper rings, and some few of mixed metal.

II.—A Brahmanical ring, of copper.

III.—Long copper pins, of a spindle shape, thicker at one end than the other.

IV.—Numerous small copper articles,—some square, some of an oblong shape, some round, and some of an oval or fusi-form shape,—the majority of which I consider to be ancient copper weights, of small size, which were probably used for weighing precious metals.

V.—A broken copper instrument which looks as if it had been intended to be used as a key, but of very rude and barbarous construction.

VI.—Numerous pieces of copper wire.

VII.—I also obtained two very small broken and imperfect ornaments, and a bead which appeared to be of gold.

VIII.—The most remarkable and numerous articles, next to the coins, which I found in great numbers

[1] The sign or character above referred to is attached to the bottom of the initial letter of the second line of the legend, after the following manner:—

in certain places,—especially on one great ridge, or *tila*, in particular,—were beads and other ornaments made of precious stones, principally agate, cornelian, rock crystal, garnet and amethyst. Of these I found some very beautiful specimens, which consisted mostly of round-shaped beads, oval-shaped beads, and large, long, cylindrical-shaped beads; and also a few other worked stones which had evidently been cut or shapen for some purpose. But besides these worked stones prepared as ornaments, I also found numerous pieces of agate, cornelian, rock crystal and garnet, and some amethysts in the rough state, strewn over the ground. These articles are found in this particular locality in such great numbers that the people of the present town of Nâgar have given it the name of Jawahiri Bazar. I may state that the locality is a desolate and deserted ridge, covered with jungle, but the ground is strewn here and there with fragments of ancient bricks, more thickly so in some parts, and less so in others.

IX.—Fragments of armlets and anklets made of ivory were also found on the ground in considerable numbers, and also pieces of ornament made of the *sankh*, or conch shell.

X.—Numerous beads and other ornaments of *kanch*, are also found all over the ground.

As may be inferred, I made a careful survey of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar, and found it to be about 8,279 feet or 1·568 miles from north to south, by 9,171 feet or 1,737 miles from east to west.[1] But, as I said before, the new town of Nâgar is built on and over one end or salient angle of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar,—namely, over a western terminal projection of the site of the ancient city; therefore the actual extent from east to west of the ancient city should in reality be estimated at somewhat upwards of two miles, which would give a total area of nearly four square miles. Of this great area, particularly on the high grounds,—indeed, with the exception of spots such as low, flat meadow-lands, that are very low and naturally under water during the rains,—I may say that there is hardly a square foot which is not thickly covered with fragments of

[1] See Plate XXII for a Map of Nâgar.

ancient bricks originally of very large size. Such an extent of brick-covered ground I never saw before in my life.

On one elevated spot like an embankment, some of the largest specimens of these ancient bricks in an entire state (the only perfectly entire specimens of the largest bricks which I saw) had been collected together as an object of worship, along with some blocks of milk-white quartz which bore traces of carving, and appeared to be fragments of some sculpture. The majority of these bricks were mostly of about the same dimensions as those which I saw at Dhand (before described); but there were some of the Nâgar bricks (more scarce than the others) which greatly exceeded the Dhand bricks in size. The dimensions of the largest of the old Nâgar bricks I found by measurement to be as follows: length, 1 foot 6 inches; breadth, 1 foot 5 inches; thickness, 4 inches.

Although the whole soil of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar is full of the fragments of ancient bricks of large size, and although the remains of walls of numerous ancient buildings are constantly being laid bare at a depth of about from 5 or 6 to 10 feet below the present surface of the ground, and are excavated by the neighbouring villagers for the sake of the bricks, and also for some large stones of which the base of some of the foundations appear to have been composed; still, with the exception of these, it cannot be said that the remains of any very ancient buildings whatever are now to be found standing or above ground at Nâgar of any date at all approaching that of the coins as to antiquity. All such ancient buildings, whether temples, or large dwellings, or palaces, or Buddhist establishments, or what not, must have been overthrown or demolished and covered over by the soil long ago, and their remains must lie buried at a considerable depth below the present surface of the ground. For the same reason I was quite unable to find any ancient inscriptions on stone at Nâgar. The oldest inscriptions I saw at Nâgar were a small defaced fragment of the tenth century, and a short inscription dated *Sambat 1080*. I also got two other short inscriptions of a somewhat later date. There are, however, six ancient temple sites at old Nâgar which are more or less situated on mounds composed of ancient dêbris. On two of these ancient sites, plain modern or middle-aged temples have been built, as will presently be noticed.

With regard to the four other remaining ancient temple sites, in one case, a middle-aged patch-work temple, called

Virmas ka Deora,[1] which is now in ruins, has been built on the foundations of a former ancient temple, and is situated on the summit of a very high ridge, or *tila*, of great extent towards the north of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar. The present temple is made up of incongruous ancient fragments which did not originally belong to one another, and the stone beams of the roof of the portico of which are actually composed of ancient *satti* stones, on some of which I found defaced inscriptions, in Kutila characters, of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The mountain of Kakrapol, which is situated a short distance south of Visalpûr, is visible from this temple, and is situated exactly 5° south of east from this; and Visalpûr itself is situated due east from this point.

In the second case, however, there are the remains of a very peculiarly shaped small temple, dating probably from the earlier part of the middle ages, which I partially excavated.[2] This small temple is remarkable for having been composed almost entirely of an exteriorly circular (or circularly many-sided) building, which probably once terminated upwards in a *sikar*, and which contained within it a square chamber built of massive, rough, hewn stones; for the temple did not appear ever to have possessed either a pillared portico, or a vestibule, or antechamber, as the remains of the foundation showed that there could never have been anything more than a small projecting entrance-way to the door. The massive, rough, hewn stones of the square interior chamber, and also the massive jambs and architrave of the doorway, are of a black or very dark-coloured kind of porphyritic stone, and on one of these I found a few letters of large size engraved, but of the age of which I am somewhat uncertain. Of the many-sided circular exterior there are only the basement stones remaining. These are large stones of a whitish colour, bevilled off at each of the end corners, and with a sort of medallion sculpture ornamenting the centre of each of their outer faces. These sculptures in most cases represented male and female divinities, but in some cases other designs had been substituted, as in one case there was a cow and a calf, and the calf sucking its mother. These stones originally supported large flat stones, the exterior edges of which are carved into a sort of ogee-

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[1] See the site marked *B* in my sketch map.

[2] See the site marked *E* in my sketch map of the ancient city of Nâgar, Plate XXII. and Plate XXIII, for a plan of the temple.

shaped beading, but the most of these I found had fallen down, or had been removed by some destroying hands in former times. After excavating the base of the temple both interiorly and exteriorly, I replaced many of these stones in their proper position. I also found a curious sculpture in bas-relief, representing numerous small figures in various attitudes, under a stone near the doorway. Fragments of images were also found in excavating the interior square chamber. One of these latter, of small size, was the head of a boar, it being the fragment of a sculpture representing the *Varâha Avatâr* of Vishnu. Other small fragments appeared to have belonged to Jain images, while one single broken sculpture evidently originally represented Shiva and Pârvati riding on the bull. There was also a rude stone *lingam* found in the upper surface of the ground, in the central square chamber. It may therefore be inferred that this small temple was successively occupied and possessed by Vaishnavas, Jains, and Shaivites. The dimensions of this temple, of which I made a ground plan, are as follows: diameter of the circular exterior, 18 feet; thickness of walls, 3 feet 8 inches; diamater of central square chamber, including walls, 9 feet 9 inches; thickness of wall, 1 foot 2 inches; interior diameter 7 feet 7 inches; length interiorly of projecting entrance way, outwardly from doorway, 5 feet 4 inches; breadth about 6 feet 10 inches; height of the remains of the wall of the central square chamber, on the north side, 8 feet; height of doorway to the top of architrave, 9 feet 7½ inches.

About 55 feet distant, east-north-east, from the entrance of the temple above described, there are the remains of an ancient square-shaped Baori well, now filled up with earth, built of huge massive stones, of the same dark colour as those which compose the interior square chamber of the temple. The dimensions of this are 30 feet by 20 feet from outside to outside, with a projection or recess at back of 14 feet 5 inches by 12 feet 4 inches.

The most interesting ancient temple site at Nâgar, however, in a historical point of view, though now occupied by a modern temple enclosure, is that called *Machkand ka Mandar*, [1] from its having been built in memory of Raja Machhakanda. It is situated on the south side of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar, and on the southern bank of

[1] See the site marked *A* in my sketch map, Plate XXII and Plate XXIII, for a plan of the temple.

a water-course called the *Khajura Khâl* (as marked in my sketch map). The modern temple enclosure is built on a large broad mound, which is full of ancient bricks, and on which ancient coins are found pretty plentifully. This temple consists of modern and middle-aged flat-topped buildings, built within a walled enclosure, and occupying the site of much more ancient temples, the débris of the ruins of which compose the mound or *tila* on which the present temple stands. The present inner temple (within the enclosure), the dimensions of which are about 26 feet 6 inches by 20 feet 9 inches, contains, however, within it, two very ancient sculptured pillars and two half pillars, which at present serve to support the flat-topped roof. Within the temple, there now stands in its centre a huge rude stone *lingam*, 4 feet 6 inches in height, but which looks most suspiciously like the fragment of some large stone *lât*, or of some rough hewn pillar, broken off irregularly at an angle or slant at the top, which is vulgarly fabled by the common people to represent Raja Machhakanda without his head! Leaning against the wall, however, inside the temple, there is a very ancient figure of Vishnu, about 4 feet in height, which evidently belonged to some former much more ancient temple.

There is a bas-relief on the left side of the doorway of the temple outside, 3 feet 9 inches in length by 10 inches in width or height, representing two rows of human figures with the lower halves of their bodies consisting of fishes' tails, like mermaids; and the hood of a three-headed snake forms a canopy over the head of each. In the centre of the upper line of figures there is a lotus plant, sending out a flower at top like an umbrella, from which a straight stalk descends, and from each side of which latter a branch goes out, each ending in a bud. This lotus plant is apparently supported upon the curled-up tail of a blunt-headed fish-like animal, shaped somewhat like a mythical or heraldric grampus standing on its head, with a frill round his neck.

On the right hand of the doorway of the temple there is built in, sideways (or lying on its side), the figure of a naked Buddhist dancing girl, about 1 foot 3 inches in length.

On a small *chabutra* to the right of the temple, but within the enclosure of the court, there is a small sculpture, evidently of great age, representing the *Boar Avatar* of Vishnu.

There are also two small figures of Vishnu in relief, built into the interior side of the south wall of the enclosure of the temple. Within the enclosure of the temple of Machhakanda, I found one single short inscription dated *Samvat 1327*, which is equivalent to A. D. 1270.

The fourth ancient temple site is situated about the centre of the deserted site of the ancient city, and at the north-west corner of a great mound or *tila* to which the people of the locality have given the name of the *Chota Manuk Chauk* (in contradistinction to another called the *Bara Manuk Chauk*). I may also mention that the ruined remains of this ancient temple are situated on the southern bank of the great ancient dry river bed through which the Garwa Nulla runs, which is mentioned and described in a former part of my report. All that now exists of the ruins of the ancient temple consists in the remains of the walls of a square building about 15 feet 6 inches in diameter from outside to outside, built of massive stone-work. Twenty-five large stones, which once belonged to the temple, are now lying outside of it, scattered on the ground in various directions. Within, in the interior of the enclosure of what remains of the four walls, there is a huge stone *lingam* lying: length or height of *lingam*, 4 feet; girth or circumference at top where it bulges out, 6 feet 9 inches. The remains of this temple have evidently been partly excavated out of curiosity by the natives of the locality. The site of this ancient temple is marked with the letter *C* in my sketch map.

The fifth ancient temple site to be noticed is situated towards the south-eastern limits of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar, and on the eastern bank of the Khajura Khâl River, which runs round in that direction from the south. Here an ancient mound, or *tila,* overhangs the bank of the river bed, and on this there is a large walled enclosure containing a temple, of modern date, called the Bachpuria Mandar. There is no interest whatever connected with the modern temple, but the *tila* on which it is situated is full of ancient bricks, and ancient coins are also found there. The position of this temple is marked with the letter *D* in my sketch map.

The sixth and remaining ancient temple site which I have yet to notice is situated towards the north-eastern boundary of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar, and on the southern bank of the Garwa Nulla, which runs up in

that direction. Here there is a conical mound, or *tila*, which is surmounted by the ruins of an old temple, which is 26 feet 6 inches in length from east to west, by 18 feet in breadth from north to south. Within the ruined sanctum of this temple, which is almost levelled to the ground, I found a stone image of large size representing some divinity in an erect or standing posture, and which had originally had either sixteen or eighteen arms. On a small *chabutra*, about 11 or 12 feet to the west of the ruined temple, there were also several fragments of images and other sculptures, and various sculptured stones of large size, whch had evidently originally belonged to the temple, lay scattered round about. From certain appearances about this temple, it appeared to me that at some period in modern times an abortive attempt had been made to repair this temple with some thin and weak superstructure and plaster, but that the attempt had been abandoned, and the temple allowed to go to ruin again. The place is now quite overgrown with jungle. The site of this temple is marked with the letter *H* in my sketch map.

Of that which is noteworthy relating to the ancient city of Nâgar, there now only remains for me to notice five ancient embanked reservoirs, which, as it were, surround the site of the city on the north, east, and south, and which seem to have served in ancient times partly to retain water for the use of the inhabitants and their cattle, and partly to serve as sort of breastworks or dams against the floods of water on the low grounds during the rains. The first of these great embankments which I may mention as having earliest become familiar to me is called the Banchora Bandha. A ground plan of this embankment shows it to be shaped exactly like a long-handled razor with the blade half open. It is situated on the southern quarter of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar, with its concave side turned towards the Khajura Khâl, and measures about 2,285 feet in extent from east to west. On this embankment were found a great number of the coins which I obtained at Nâgar. The second great embankment or reservoir to be noticed is the largest of the whole. It is called the Datora Sagar, and forms the south-eastern boundary of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar. This great *sagar* is 2,850 feet in extent from east to west. With the exception of the most easterly portion of it, it is formed of embankments of great height and breadth, which contain fragments of ancient bricks, of very large size, and preserves traces which show that houses, and pro-

bably also temples, once stood on various parts of the embankment; and I may also add that numerous ancient coins were also found on it,—all of which circumstances go to prove that it is an ancient Hindu work of great antiquity. There is, however, a narrow extension of this embankment which runs down southwards from its eastern end, which is interiorly faced with stone-work, with low round towers or bastions at intervals, and which appears to have been partially an addition of Muhammadan construction, for on the inner face of one of the low round towers I found a square black stone built in, with a kufic inscription on it, which, however, was so defaced that it was not legible, and the sickness of all my servants prevented any impression being taken of it.

The third embanked reservoir which I have to describe may be considered in the light of a regular tank with more propriety than any of the rest. It is called the Mandkhalla Tâl, and is situated due north, or about the middle of the northern boundary of the site of the ancient city of Nâgar, and forms, with two other neighbouring embankments which lie respectively to the west and north-east, the northern limits of the ancient city. The Mandkalla Tâl is 1,330 feet in extent from east to west, and 1,125 feet from north to south. It is banked in on three sides,—namely, the east, west, and south, the centre of the northern side being occupied by a high conical isolated mound. There had evidently been originally a stone edging to the interior of the embankment of the tank down at the water's edge, and there are also the remains of two ghâts, with steps which project out into the water, on the eastern and western sides. The top of the embankment is everywhere covered from end to end with remains of sites of buildings, large and small, evidently those of numerous shrines and temples. Of the most important and distinct of these sites, I counted and marked down altogether nineteen, but there were several others which were so totally broken up and levelled to the ground as to be not separately distinguishable. Some of these were evidently ancient, while others were apparently of middle-aged date. There was also one *satti chatri* of comparatively modern construction. The inner side of the embankment at the south-eastern corner of the tank in particular is strewn with numerous sculptures, some of them capitals of pillars, very much resembling those which I saw at Uncha Pahar;

others, carved blocks of stone, which had evidently belonged to buildings; and others, sculptures in relief. This has been a fine tank, which still retains a considerable body of water; but it is totally deserted, and is made no use of whatever by the inhabitants of the present town of Nâgar, except by the cowherds to water some of their cattle which wander in the jungle. Indeed, the people of the present town of Nâgar seem to keep very clear of the old *khera*, for they say that it is haunted by goblins and evil spirits,[1] and that no man dare remain out alone there after nightfall. I myself cannot say anything about the goblins,[2] but I can say that I never saw any place in my life so frightfully infested by innumerable poisonous snakes as the old *khera* of Nâgar. I had several narrow escapes from them myself, even in my own tent, and there was great risk from them in surveying in the jungle, but more particularly in coming home from one's work at night. Nâgar and its neighbourhood is indeed a locality infected by sickness of every kind, and infested by deadly reptiles.

In the case of the other two embanked structures which are still to be noticed, one is situated to the south-west of the Mandkalla Tâl, and the other 1,190 feet to the east of it. The latter is in the form of an irregularly-shaped circular figure, with an opening towards the north, and in the centre of which there is a high conical mound. This great embanked enclosure is about 1,430 feet in diameter from east to west. From the south-western corner of it, another long embankment runs south-westwards, and then northwards, until it almost unites with the southern bank of the Mandkalla Tâl.

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[1] According to one story, a Brahman, who happened to be one day passing by the Mandkalla Tâl, saw a large marriage party on the banks of the old tank. On approaching, he found apparently the viands or provisions all ready prepared for the marriage feast, but the whole party most unaccountably silent and noiseless. Some of the marriage party then came forward and beckoned to him to partake of the feast, but he declined, and, from some feeling of secret misgiving, he carefully avoided doing so. Immediately after this, to the Brahman's horror and astonishment, the heads of the marriage party began to fall off, one after another, before his very eyes, as if decapitated by magic, and then the whole began to fade away and gradually disappeared.

[2] One night, however, I myself heard a most unearthly noise, which proceeded from the jungle on one of the old *tilas*, and which noise was so peculiar that it can hardly be described, except by saying that it most resembled the hoarse screams and choking ejaculations of a person being murdered or strangled. The Thakurs or Rajpûts who watched my tent at night were asked what this noise was, and they replied that it was a *bhût*, and that it would kill and devour any person who went that way at night. I then caused them to be asked why these *bhûts* had never interfered with me, when I had often come home late at night from surveying, and had besides had to remain once all night in the porch of a deserted temple on account of the rain? To this they replied that the *bhûts* were afraid of Europeans and did not dare to interfere with them!

The last and remaining embanked structure to be noticed, situated to the south-west of the Mandkalla Tâl, consists of two great embankments which branch out from an angle towards the south, eastwards and westwards, and then run up towards the north. The embankment on the eastern side is in the form of a semicircle, or of the letter *C* reversed, and is in many places of great breadth and height, and the top of it has evidently been occupied by buildings in ancient times. The embankment on the western side is in the shape of a long finger, which runs for the distance of about 2,190 feet in a north-westerly direction. At the very furthermost extremity of this embankment I picked up a number of ancient coins. There is an open space between the northern extremities of these two embankments. In the centre of the low area enclosed between the two great embankments there are the remains of an ancient walled garden, called the Kuari Bag, which is about 410 feet square.

Several of the great brick-covered mounds, or *tilas*, or ridges, which compose the site of the ancient city of Nâgar are of great extent, and some of them are known by certain names which are probably the modern representatives of names which were anciently attached to them. The Bara Mânik Chauk towards the east, near the village of Balpura, as marked in my sketch map, is upwards of 1,000 feet in extent from east to west; but a still larger ridge, called the Bara Mandela Tola, which lies to the north of the Garwa Nulla, is about 1,900 feet in extent from east to west, by about 1,300 feet from north to south. To the west of this there is another *tila*, or ridge, called the Chota Mandela Tola. The name of Jawâhiri Bazar is, however, sometimes applied to these two *tilas* together by the common people of the neighbourhood, on account of the number of gems found there, as described in a former part of my report. Besides these there is a pair of *tilas*, which closely adjoin each other, called the Kangali, on which few coins, but many stone beads, are found. These two adjoining *tilas*, which go under the same name, are situated to the west of the Chota Manuk Chauk. There is another *tila*, which runs westwards towards the modern town of Nâgar, which I have named the Taksal Tila, on account of the great number of coins which were found there.

Just beyond this Taksal Tila, to the west, and adjoining the ditch of the present town, and therefore exactly facing it, there is a curious elevated extent of ground, of a somewhat

square shape, which rises by regular parallel steps or terraces, as it were, on its eastern and southern sides, and partly on the north side. These stepped gradations of level, no doubt, formerly continued round on the nothern side also, but on that side a village or suburb of the present town has been located for many years, so that the original form of the ground here is not so easily distinguished, except towards the ditch, where the stepped terraces are very marked and of considerable height. There are four of these steps or gradations of level, on the eastern side, and two remaining on the southern side. The top or summit of the *tila* forms another additional level above the former. Of these gradations on the east side, the lowest is 60 feet in breadth, the next above 40 feet, the next 70 feet, and the next or uppermost one below the summit 90 feet. Of those on the south side, the lowest is 50 feet broad, and the next one above 60 feet. I have an idea that these stepped or graduated terraces on the south side originally corresponded in number and breadth with those on the east side, but that the remaining portion of them has been obliterated, partly by the washing away of the soil during the rains, and partly by agricultural operations, as a portion of the ground is under cultivation. The vertical height of these graduated parallel terraces is, in general, not great, varying between 3 feet and 1½ feet; the highest of them being in some places nearly 3 feet, and in others only about 2 feet. But the remaining portions of the terraces towards the ditch on the north side are much higher, some of them being as much as 5 feet in vertical height. Here they are also four in number, the lowest being 53 feet in breadth, the next above 52 feet, the next 92 feet, and the uppermost one 100 feet.

Two hundred and forty feet from the south side, the remains of an ancient broad roadway, 46 feet in breadth, runs across this *tila* from east to west,—the stepped gradations also continuing across it, but at somewhat lesser height.

This *tila* is about 1,000 feet in length from north to south, and about 660 feet in breadth from east to west; but its breadth from east to west was probably originally greater before the ditch of the present town was cut at its western end.

On this *tila* many ancient coins were found; and it was in the section-cutting presented by the ditch, at the western end of this *tila*, that I saw the remains of some ancient houses below the level of the surface.

What the original purpose of these graduated parallel terraces was, or the mode in which the *tila* may have been occupied in ancient times, it is hard to say. It may be the remains of some peculiar kind of fortification, or of a citadel, or it may have been the site of the palaces of the ancient rajas of Nâgar.

The present people of Nâgar have an extraordinary idea that the old *khera*, or city, extended all the way to Dhand, and that fragments of old bricks may still be found all that way. This, of course, I cannot believe, both from its improbability and because I saw no signs of any such remains on the lowland to the eastern or Nâgar side of the pass of Ghar. But, as I have already remarked in my preceding short report on Dhand, I believe that Dhand, though probably a smaller place, was of equal antiquity with Nâgar, flourished coevally with Nâgar, and was founded by the same dynasty of kings who founded Nâgar.

It is, of course, just possible that suburbs of the ancient city of Nâgar may have extended for some little distance to the west and south-west beyond the present town of Nâgar, along the old road which led from Nâgar to Dhand, but the only sign or trace of the former existence of anything of the kind are a few small detached mounds on the western side of the present town of Nâgar.

The present or modern town of Nâgar, which, as I said before, is built over or across the termination of the western end of the site of the ancient city, though originally of some size, as far as houses are concerned, and fortified, now contains less than a thousand inhabitants. This is said to have been owing to a plague which visited the town about twenty years ago, and swept away nearly the whole of the inhabitants, since which time the town has become gradually re-peopled by settlers from neighbouring villages and adjacent states. I myself can testify, from severe personal experience and suffering, that Nâgar is situated in one of the most wretchedly sickly and unhealthy localities that I ever had the misfortune to visit.

21.—NÂGRI, NÂGARI, or TAMBAVATI NÂGARI.

The small town or village, and the ancient *Khera* or site of the ancient city of Nâgari, are situated about 11 miles north of Chitor, and on the right or east bank of the Birach or Bairis River. It now belongs to the Rao of Bhindar, a Sisodia.

Nâgari is said to have been founded by a Raja Chand, or Hari Chand (or Haris Chandra?). This is the tradition most commonly quoted by the majority of the people, and is probably the nearest to the truth; but there were a few who said they thought Nâgari had been in some way refounded, or rebuilt, or held by Bir Bikramâjit, or Vira Vikramâditya. I have not been able to identify the Raja Chand, or Hari Chand, or Haris Chandra, above mentioned, with any king of familiar name in any of the known genealogical lists of the Rajaputra families or ruling dynasties either of Central India or of North-Western India generally, with the exception of a prince of Ujjain, caled Haris Chandra, who must have lived as late as A. D. 1160, and who was the successor of Lakshmi Varma Deva of Ujjain, who lived about A. D. 1144. But this prince (Haris Chandra of Ujjain) lived at far too late a period to have been the possible founder of such an ancient place as Nâgari, which must have existed at least for twelve hundred years before his time; and besides, as the Gehlots or Sisodias had, at this late period, already been some centuries in possession of Chitor, it is not likely that the Ujjain princes of that period could have had anything whatever to do with Nâgari. We may therefore discard this individual forthwith and entirely.

It would, of course, at first sight appear likely that the ancient Rajas or founders of Nâgari might have been allied in race to, if not of the same race as, the ancient paramount kings of Ujjain and Mâlwa. Near the commencement of the genealogical list of the kings of Mâlwa, as given in Prinsep's Useful Tables, we find a king called Jit Chandra, who is supposed to have lived about B. C. 760, and it would not be altogether impossible that Jit Chandra might either have refounded Nâgari, or might have included it in his possessions; and that the Hari Chand of the Nâgari traditions might just possibly be only another local form of the name of the same king. There was also another king bearing a somewhat similar name,—namely, Chandrasèna of Mâlwa, who is reputed to have refounded Chandrâvati (near

Jhalrapatan); but he lived, I think, at far too late a period to have been the possible founder of such an undoubtedly very ancient place as Nâgari.

But there was a well-known ancient king called Haris Chandra who is famed in the traditions of India, and whose city (Trang) is fabled to have been suspended in the air. Haris Chandra was an ancient and powerful king of India, of the Solar race, who was contemporary with Pârasurama of the Lunar line, about B. C. 1176; and I am rather inclined to think that it might really have been this Haris Chandra, and no other, to whom the foundation of Nâgari, or Tambavati Nâgari, is ascribed in the traditions of the place; for the name of Haris Chandra alone would naturally have become Hari Chand, or Har Chand, in the vulgar spoken dialects of the present day. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Nâgari is one of the oldest places in India; and, as I obtained a great number of the most ancient Hindu punch-marked coins there, which were found on the spot, and as General Cunningham allows that some of the coins of this class are certainly as old as 500 or 600 B. C., and may be as old as B. C. 1000, the latter date brings us very nearly up to the supposed period of the reign of Haris Chandra, which makes it quite within the range of possibility that he may have been the actual founder of Nâgari.

At all events, Nâgari is beyond all doubt a very ancient place, and must have been founded at a very remote period; and consequently Hari Chand, its founder, whoever he was, must have lived in very ancient times.

The ancient name of the place is said to have been Tambavati Nâgari, which became gradually contracted simply to Nâgari; and it thus vies with Châtsû for the right to the claim of possessing this ancient name, as it will be seen from my report on Châtsû that Tambavati was also an ancient name of the latter place. No doubt there were two places, both of which were called Tambavati; but the question is, which was the more ancient of these two places?[1] I believe that Nâgari was the more ancient of the two,—so ancient that the greater portion of the site of the old city has been deserted and lain bare for centuries, and

[1] The name or compound word Tambavati is, in some cases, supposed to signify the place of copper; and the name, as applied to Châtsû, is said to have been derived from the fact that it was in ancient times surrounded by a wall of copper. However that may be, I believe that the name, as applied to Nâgari, ought to be spelt as *Thambhavati*, as a corruption of the Sanskrit *Stambhavati*, which would mean "the place of pillars," and would thus appropriately refer to a place where Buddhist pillars had been erected.

the time when it existed as an ancient city is buried in oblivion. It is a strong proof of the great antiquity of this site that punch-marked coins, of the most ancient Hindu type, are found in great numbers at this place every year, during and after the rains. I myself obtained about one hundred and twenty of this class of coins alone during a stay of two days and a half at Nâgari.

These punch-marked coins are supposed to belong to the most ancient coinage that existed in India, and some of the rudest of them may probably date as far back as the fifth or sixth century before Christ, and possibly even from a still earlier period.

During my short stay at Nâgari I obtained altogether about one hundred and seventy ancient coins which were found on the spot; and not only from the nature of the majority of these coins, which, as I have just said, were of the most ancient punch-marked type, but also from that of others which bore Pali legends in very ancient characters, it is evident that the site where such coins are found must be exceedingly ancient, and must have existed long before the time of Vikramâditya of Ujjain. Moreover, on an ancient brick, 4½ inches in thickness, one of several such which I dug out of the ground, I found the letter 𑀲 (*s*) in the ancient *lât* character form of the time of Asoka; and on another brick I found traces of two other letters equally old. Lastly, within the area of the site of the ruined fortress of the ancient city, I found a conical, or rather dome-shaped mound, about 30 feet high, which I believe to be the remains of an ancient Buddhist *stupa;* the mound being composed almost entirely of fragments of bricks, with some mortar, and a quantity of rubble mixed with earth. The fragments of brick are most exposed *in situ* on the south side of the mound. There were also a few fragments of stone lying on the northern and eastern sides of the mound, but no doubt any loose stones that may have been lying about the mound have been carried away and made use of by the people of the village;[1] and I also saw some stones which had been cut up on the spot, to be used in completing a plain, small, modern roofless shrine, which had been built on the top of the mound. But there was one single sculptured stone still left which is worthy of particular remark here. I must explain that the summit of

[1] I have also elsewhere mentioned that it is reported that most of the ancient sculptured stones were taken away from Nâgari to Chitor, at the time when the principle temples and other buildings were being built in the fort of Chitor.

the mound is now occupied by a small, modern, square, unfinished, roofless shrine; but that there was a large sculptured stone, evidently ancient, which had been laid down to form a sort of door-step to the present modern unfinished shrine, which undoubtedly once formed the architrave of a Buddhist gateway. A drawing of this sculptured stone, with a view of the mound, is given herewith.[1] The present length of the sculptured stone is about 7 feet 6 inches; but a portion of it had been broken off and lost, which I estimated must have been about 3 feet, or a little less than one-third of the entire original length of the stone, which must have been about 10 feet 6 inches in length. There were two square socket holes in the upper surface of the stone, which appeared to go quite through it, one near the finished or complete end of the stone, 1 foot 3 inches by 6 inches in diameter, and the other towards the broken part of the stone, 5 inches square. Now, it is evident that the smaller square socket hole must once have been the centre of the stone, and that there must have been another larger long-shaped socket hole in that part of the stone which is broken away. These three socket holes must have been intended for upright stone bars or posts to be fitted into them, to support a second cross-stone above them, as was the case in old Buddhist gateways. The Sanchi tope has three successive cross-stones or architraves, one above the other, and no less than five upright posts fitting into sockets between each, the centre ones being thin, and the side ones thick. Another architrave cross-stone, of the same kind, from Mathura, which had belonged to an ancient Buddhist gateway, has, however, only three sockets for the uprights, like the Nâgari stone; but in the case of the Mathura stone, the centre one is the largest. The sockets in the Mathura stone are also very shallow. As the Nâgari stone apparently had only three socket holes for upright bars or posts, I would therefore venture to suggest that it was one of the architraves of a Buddhist gateway.

I believe the present modern small, roofless, square shrine on the top of the mound to have been built exactly on the site of the square railing that must have crowned the top of the *stupa*, and which would have been surmounted by a stone *tee* or umbrella.

This mound is situated towards the western side of the ancient city. Its dimensions were as follows: breadth

[1] See Plate XXIV for a view of the mound and sketches of the sculptured stone.

or horizontal diameter from north to south (at base), 63 to 65 feet; diameter from east to west (at base), 75 feet; height or elevation, about 30 feet, or probably originally about 35 feet.

Strange to say, among the coins obtained at Nâgari, I found one coin of the same type as the oldest of the coins with legends which I collected at Nâgar (the other ancient city which I discovered further north), and bearing the same legend, *Mâlavâna*, in ancient *lât* characters of the period of Asoka. Consequently, Tambavati Nâgari must have existed contemporaneously with Nâgar, and about the time when Asoka was promulgating his edicts on pillars and rock tablets.

Of the total 170 coins obtained at Tambavati Nâgari, 25 of them, or a little more than one-seventh of the whole, were too much corroded and defaced to be worth keeping; but the following is a list of the remaining 145 coins which I kept:—

117 Punch-marked coins, of the most ancient Hindu type known.
7 Copper coins with legend: *Majhamikâ Yashi Bijanapadasa*, or *Majhamikâya Sibi janapadasa.*
1 Coin with legend: *Ramadatasa.*
1 Square copper coin, with human figure standing, and legend: *Gautamè* (?).
1 Coin with legend: *Mâlavâna.*
2 Silver Saurashtra coins of *Atri Dama* and *Asa Dama*, with the date "274" or "374" (?).
1 Defaced coin with a king's head.
13 Fire-altar coins.
1 Coin of *Sângrama Sinha.*
1 Muhammadan coin of *Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim.*

Total, 145 coins, and one small copper ornament.

It is worthy of remark that, with the sole exception of the coin of Sangrâma Sinha and that of Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim, not a single middle-aged coin was obtained here, and no recent or modern coin. The only two middle-aged coins—those of Sangrâma Sinha and Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim—were probably found on the site of the present village, and I am inclined to think that the fire-altar coins were found there also; while all the ancient punch-marked coins and the coins with legends in ancient characters were all found on the ancient *khera*, or citadel.

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I would be inclined to ascribe the following dates to these coins respectively :—

Punch-marked coins. (The square coins of this type are probably more ancient than the round ones).	B. C. 350 to B. C. 500 or B. C. 600, and some perhaps even more ancient.
Coin with legend : *Málavána.*	B. C. 200. B. C. 250.
Coins with legend : *Ramadatasa.*	B. C. 200.
Coin with legend : *Gautamè* ...	B. C. 200.
Coins with legend : *Majhamiká Yashi Bijanapadasa,* or *Majhamikáya Sibi janapadasa.*	B. C. 150.
The two Saurashtra coins, one of *Atri Dama,* and the other of *Asa Dama,* with the date "274" or "374" (?).	About the commencement of the Christian era?
Fire-altar coins ...	7th century to commencement of 8th century of the Christian era.

Thus, between the last of the ancient coins, showing the predominance of Saurashtra, about the commencement of the Christian era, and the first of the later, or more nearly middle-aged coins, those with the fire-altar (which I believe to belong to the first of the Grahilots, or Guhilas, or Gehlots), of about the seventh century, we have a blank period of at least some 600 years, of which no coins whatever were obtained. Hence I believe that the site of the ancient citadel of Tambavati Nâgari has lain waste and deserted at least ever since the commencement of the Christian era.

The coins, found at Yambavati Nâgari bearing the legend, *Majhamiká Yashi Bijanapadasa,* or *Majhamikáya Śibi janapadasa,* are interesting, and perhaps important. I obtained seven of them at Nâgari and one at Chitor. Stacy obtained two coins of the same type either from Chitor or from its neighbourhood. These he forwarded to Prinsep, and the latter's facsimile drawings of them may be seen engraved in Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities,* Vol. I, Plate VII, figs. 2 and 3. Stacy took the ancient characters on

these coins for corrupted Greek letters, and built up a theory thereon. But Prinsep afterwards discovered that the legend on these coins was in ancient Sanskrit characters closely allied to the old *lât* characters of the Edicts of Asoka. Prinsep, however, read the legend wrong, as *Yaga Bijanaputa* [*sa?*], as may be seen at page 3, Vol. II, of his *Indian Antiquities*. But from my coins I have ascertained that it is not *Yaga Bijanaputasa*, but *Yashi Bijanapadasa*. The palatal ș. (which Prinsep took for the letter *ga*) is plain enough, even on Prinsep's two coins as figured, if he had only been able to distinguish that letter. The entire legend, however, as obtained from the whole of my coins of this type, reads plainly as *Majhamikâya shi bijana padasa*, which I have translated as follows: "The centrical glory, the fan-footed one" (from *vijan*, a fan; and *pada*, a foot), or "The centrical glory of the country everywhere, or of universal land;" or "The centrical glory of the far-extending or distant country," from *vijanapada*, of which the Sanskrit genitive would be *vijanapadasya*, and which would have much the same sense as the Sanskrit *vidèsa*. Or *Majhamikâya* might be interpreted as *madhyam*, middle; and *kâya*, body,—signifying the central body, or the centre of the body, of the Șibi country. The word *Majhamika* is simply the Pali equivalent for, or corruption of, the Sanskrit *Madhyamika*, which signifies "central."

Vijana-pada, signifying "fan-footed," might be either a Buddhist or a Jain title, and would be applicable to the conventional representation of the "feet" of a Buddhist or Jain divinity.[1]

The following is a copy of the inscription on the coins:—

The legend is not quite perfect or entire, even on any one of my coins: but, from the whole, I make out the legend to be clearly and unmistakably exactly as I have given it above. The following are the various portions of

[1] *Vèna*, in Sanskrit also means a fan; and there was an ancient king called *Vèna*, or *Raja Vèna Chakravartti*, who was the ancestor of the Bachhal tribe, and who was descended from Anû, the son of Yayati.

the legend, as they occur on each of my coins respectively :—

1.	"*Majhamikâyasibijanapa*		"	From Nâgari.
2.	"*Majhamikâyasibija* -		"	"
3.	" - - - - - - - - - - - - -	*sibijanapadasa*."		"
4.	" - - - - - - - - - - - - -	*bijanapadasa*"		"
5.	" - - - - - - - - - - - - -	*janapadasa*"		"
6.	" - - - - - - - - - - - - -	*janapadasa*"		"
7.	"*Majha* - - - - - - - -		"	"
8.	" - - - - - - - - - - - - -	*sibija*	"	From Chitor.

The fragment of the legend on the last one from Chitor reads more like " - - - - *shi Bina* - - - -".

The occurrence of the character for *jh* on these coins is very interesting, as this particular character is of very uncommon occurrence indeed in ancient inscriptions just after the period of Asoka.

On the centre of the observe of the coins, surrounded by the legend, there is a cross, and in each corner of the cross there is a figure like the letter *m* of the *lât* character, or like the Hindi numerical figure ४ (4); and to one side of this there is a representation of a tree or branch proceeding from the centre of a small circle. The device on the reverse is the representation of a Buddhist pyramidal-shaped *chaitya*, formed of six arcs, and surmounted by a seventh arc or circle, from which branches proceed on each side; and beneath the *chaitya* there is a wavy line.

It is right, however, that I should mention that General Cunningham has since interpreted the legend on these coins in a different manner from what I have done. He reads the letters exactly as I do; but he divides the words differently, and thus brings a different meaning out of them. In other words, General Cunningham, although reading the letters of the legend exactly as I do, divides the words differently as follows: *Majhamikâya Śibi janapadasa*, which he interprets to mean "(Coin) of the *Madhyamikayas* of the country of *Śibi*." The name of these people, however, must have been *Madhyamika*, as a noun of the first class the same as *dharmika;* and it cannot, therefore, have been *Madhyamikâya*. For if the word be read as *Madhyamikâya*, it must either be in the dative case of the noun, or it must be a feminine genitive (*i. e., Madhyamikâyâs*) left, by mistake, without the terminal *s*,—or else it must be a corruption of the Sanskrit masculine genitive *Madhyamikasya*. But if the word be supposed to mean "of the *Madhyamikas*," it would then require to be in the genitive plural, which, in

correct Sanskrit, would be *Radhyamikânâm.* Thus, it is evident that the word *Madhyamikâya*[1] cannot be either the genitive singular or the genitive plural of a noun or proper name, *Madhyamika;* but *Madhyamikâya* must, according to correct Sanskrit rules, be the dative case of the noun, in the same manner as *dharmikâya* is the dative of *dharmikas* or *dharmika,* and *Śivâya* is the dative of *Śivas* or *Śiva;* and therefore *Madhyamikâya* would mean "to the *Madhyamika.*" But the word on the coin is not *Madhyamikâya,* but it is spelt with the old Sanskrit *lât* character for *jh,* as *Majhamikâya,* or (as I read it) *Majhamikâ,* which is simply the Pali equivalent for, or corruption of, the Sanskrit *Madhyamika;* and therefore the word cannot be judged of, according to Sanskrit rules, at all. Neither does the word *Majhamikâya* (*i. e.,* with the termination *ya* added to the word) appear to me to agree with any Pali form; whereas the word *Majhamikâ,* without the terminal *ya,* would be simply the natural Pali equivalent for the Sanskrit *Madhyamika.* These are my only objections to General Cunningham's mode of reading the legend; and it was for this reason that I read the word simply as *Majhamika,* and the whole legend as *Majhamika Yashi Bijanapadasa.*

General Cunningham, however, has remarked to me that "the Madhyamikayas are mentioned in the *Mahâbhârat* and in the *Brihat Sanhita;*" and that "they were a people of Madhya Desa, who, under the shorter name of Madhyamikas, had been beseiged by the Greeks, according to Patanjali. This name is probably a sectarian or religious one. At any rate their country was not called Madhyamika, but, as we learn from these coins, Śibi. Now, these people of Śibi must be the *Sibæ* whom Alexander encountered, especially as the Greek writers refer to their skin dresses and clubs, which connect them with *Śiva* or *Śib.*"

Again, referring to the coins which I found at the other ancient city called Nâgar, which I discovered further north, and on which coins I read the legend *Jaya Mâlavâna,* General Cunningham says:—

"I suspect that the Mâlavânas may be the Malloi of Multân, and that the Madhyamikas or Majhamikas may be the people of Mânjha, the two names of Mâlwa and Mânjha being still existent. Quintus Curtius calls the people *Sobii* whom Strabo and Arrian call *Sibæ.*"

In another communication to me on the same subject, General Cunningham says:—

"The Wessantara Jâtaka, one of the most famous of the old Buddhist legends, makes Sanda, the father of Wessantara, the Raja of Ṣibi, of which the capital was Jayatura. I take this to be the true name of the present Chitor, for all the early Muhammadans wrote the name *Jitur* or *Jetur*. But the name of Ṣibi itself I would identify with Siwâlik. 'The country of Sibi,' *Sibi-janapada*, means the land of the descendants of Sibi,—that is, of the *Saibas* or *Savas*, and their country would be called *Saiwâla* and *Saiwâlika*; and the country of the *Saiwâlik*, according to the early Muhammadans, included Mandor (near Jodhpûr), Nâgór, and Hânsi, the last being called the capital of Siwâlik. But a country which included Mandor and Nágâr might also easily include Chitor, and Chitor or Jayatura might easily have been one of its capitals. Then the story of the Greeks besieging the Madhyamikas would mean the siege of Chitor by Eukratides during his Indian campaign, and would account for the finding of the coins of Apollodotus at Pushkar. * * * * Sibi was a descendant of Anu, and the eponymous hero of the Saivas (not worshippers of Siva, but a people)."[1]

The above suggestions of General Cunningham, with regard to the ancient inhabitants of the ancient city of Nâgari which I discovered, are exceedingly important, and are calculated to excite great interest in the mind of any one. My only objections to them are the following, namely: *firstly*, that a people who, like the Sibœ, wore skin dresses, could hardly have been Hindus; and *secondly*, that, although it is, of course, quite possible that Eukratides may have besieged Chitor, I think it is, at the same time, very improbable. General Cunningham informs us that coins of Apollodotus have been found at Pushkar, near Ajmèr; but I never heard of a single Bactrian Greek coin being found anywhere near Chitor. Among all the coins which I myself got at Nâgari and Chitor, there was not even a single Indo-Scythic coin! Moreover, I do not think that Chitor is so ancient a place at all, and therefore I do not believe that the fort of Chitor could have been in existence in the time of Eukratides, who reigned over the Bactrian kingdom from about B. C. 190, or 185, to B. C. 165.

In the last communication which I received from General Cunningham on this subject, he says:—

"Sanda was Raja of Sibi or Sivi, the capital of which was Jayatura (? Chitor). Chetiya was the bordering country. Now, Chetiyanagari was

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[1] According to Professor Wilson, Ṣivi was the son of Usinara, who was the eighth in descent from Anu, the son of Yayati. Usinara had five sons, namely: Ṣivi, the ancestor of the Saivas; Trina, the ancestor of the Yaudheyas; Nava, the ancestor of the Navrashtras; Krimi, the ancestor of the Krimilas; and Darvan, the ancestor of the Ambashtas. Ṣivi had four sons, namely: Vrishadarbha, Suvira, Kaikeya, and Madra. The coins of the Yaudheyas, the descendants of Trina, the brother of Ṣivi, are well known, and they bear the following legend:— *Jaya Yaudheya Gaṇasya*,—"of the victorious Yaudheya host."

almost certainly Bhilsa, or Besnagar, and this makes the identification of Jayatura with Chitor more probable. The name is written *Jaytur* by nearly all the old Muhammadan authors, and it has accordingly been identified by the latest editor with the modern Jaypur."

I have the following remarks to make on the above. Muhammadan chirography is so very uncertain, and capable of such very various readings, that I should be inclined to be very cautious in attempting to identify any Muhammadan form of the name of Chitor with the Jayatura of the Jáins and Hindus. It cannot be denied that the name, as obtained from the writings of Muhammadan authors, which is read as *Jetur* or *Jaytur* above, might, in the original, probably have been capable of being read equally well *Chaytûr*, or *Haytûr*, or *Khaytûr*; for, unless the initial letter of the word could be proved to have been distinctly marked with the vowel point which should make it a *jim*, it might equally well be read either as a *chè*, or a *hè*, or a *khè*; and therefore I believe the word may really have been intended simply for *Chaytur*, or *Chetur*, or *Chitur*.[1]

With regard to Chetiyanagari, it might, of course, be identifiable with Bhilsa (or Chetiyagiri?); but as I actually discovered an ancient city called Nâgari (the subject of the present report) near Chitor, is it not possible that this Nâgari, near Chitor, might be a more likely place to identify with Chetiyanagari than Bhilsa? For that matter, the name of Chitor, or Chitawar, itself might be derived from Chetiyawara; and this last form of the name, again, might have been derived from that of an older place called Chetiyanagari. Tod mentions that many of the sculptured stones for the building of the temples in the fort of Chitor were brought from an ancient ruined city called Nâgari, or Nâgara, or Takshak Nâgara, which he believed to be situated about three *kos* to the north of Chitor;[2] and therefore it could be no other than the ancient city of Nâgari, which I myself discovered about 11 miles to the north of Chitor, and which forms the subject of the present report,—more especially as some of the people who still

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[1] Besides, the ancient name of Chitor is commonly said to have been *Chitrakût*, or *Chitrâwar*, which bears no resemblance whatever to *Jayatura*. And the name of Chitrakât, or Chitrâwar, may have been derived from that of *Chitranga*, the last Mori Raja of Chitor.

[2] See Tod's *Rajasthan*, Volume II, page 736, Personal Narrative. The "three *kos*" mentioned in Tod's statement of the distance were no doubt calculated from the long Rajputana *kos*, which is nearly double the length of the common standard Agra or Delhi *kos*; for Nagari is much more than three *kos* distant from Chitor, and cannot be less than five *kos* at the very least.

live in the village of Nâgari near the site of the old city when I visited it, said that they had heard that numerous stones had been taken away from that ancient site to Chitor at some former period. It is therefore evident that Nâgari must have been a much more ancient place than Chitor, and must have existed many centuries before Chitor was built. Moreover, it may be inferred from what I have stated above, that Nâgari was so ancient that it had actually become a deserted place before Chitor was built! I myself do not believe Chitor to be a very ancient place at all; and indeed I fancy that it could have had no existence before the time of the Moris, and most certainly had no existence previous to about the commencement of the Christian era. Of the ancient coins with inscriptions described above, it must be remembered that I got as many as seven of them at Nâgari, but only one at Chitor, while I got no less than one hundred and seventeen of the most ancient punch-marked coins at Nâgari, but only one at Chitor! Moreover, I learnt from the people who sold me some coins at Chitor, that the oldest coins found at Chitor were those which have a corrupt imitation of a fire-altar on the reverse, and the distorted and much degraded attempt at a representation of a king's head on the obverse; and which coins, judging from the style of the few letters that may occasionally be read on them, cannot be older than the seventh century. The same people said that any other ancient or more ancient-looking coins were brought in to Chitor by the peasants or cultivators from some other place in the surrounding country. It is evident, therefore, that the two solitary coins which I got at Chitor, of the same type as those which I got at Nâgari, must have been brought to Chitor from Nâgari itself by some peasant or villager who picked them up on the site of that ancient city, and sold them to a Chitor bania, when visiting the latter place for some purpose. I believe Stacy's most ancient coins to have been obtained in the same manner from some of the peasantry from the present village of Nâgari, and not from Chitor itself at all.

I myself discovered the site of the ancient city of Nâgari by mere fortunate accident, while on my route from the north to Chitor, having just previously left Basi, 10 or 12 miles off, which is situated at the entrance of a valley on the western side of the Patar chain of the Arravali range. I believe I have thus discovered the ancient city which Tod appears to have searched for in vain. In his "Personal Narrative" in the second volume of his Annals of Rajasthan,

page 760, in speaking of certain temples in the fort of Chitor, he says:—

"Both these temples are entirely constructed from the wrecks of more ancient shrines, said to have been brought from the ruins of a city of remote antiquity called Nâgara, three *kos* northward of Chitor."

To which he adds in a foot note:

"I trust this may be put to the proof; for I think it will prove to be Takshac-nagara, of which I have long been in search; and which gave rise to the suggestion of Herbert that Chitor was of Taxila Porus[1] (the Puar?)."

The Nâgara here referred to by Tod is no doubt the very same as the Nâgari, or Tambavati Nâgari, which I discovered. But it is more than three *kos* north of Chitor. It may perhaps not be above 4 or 5 *kos* from the nearest part of the foot of the hill of Chitor, but it is further from Chitor itself. The *kos* of that part of Râjpùtâna, however, is nearly double the standard *kos* of Hindustan, as estimated at Agra and Delhi; so that Tod's three *kos*, in this instance, would be about equal to 5 standard *kos* in the neighbourhood of Agra. I think it is also very possible that this place may be identifiable with Tod's supposed Takshak Nâgara, as *Takshak* is a traditional name in that part of the country, and the worship of the snake king, or Nâga divinity, *Takshak*, is well known to have been formerly practised in those regions. See, for instance, an engraved plate representing a statue or image of the snake king divinity, *Takshak*, at Takaji-ka-Kund, about 12 miles south of Ganga Bheva, nearly due south of Búndi and south-south-west from Kota, and only about 50 miles due east from Nâgari and Chitor, represented in Tod's "Personal Narrative," *Rajasthân*, Vol. II, with a description of it at page 718. Again, Tod informs us that at Morwun, an old seat of the Moris, near Chitor, "there is a temple dedicated to *Shêshnâg*, the thousand-headed hydra which supports the globe;" and he adds that formerly saffron was the meet offering to this king of reptiles, but he is now obliged to be content with ointment of sandal, produced from the evergreen, which is indigenous to Mewar. (*Rajasthân*, Vol. II, p. 615.) At Ganga Bheva and Baroli, from Tod's account, there would appear also to be numerous representations of serpents, and of Nâginis, or females, of the Nâga or serpent race.

There is also another circumstance worthy of remark,—namely, that the word *Nâgar*, as signifying a town or city,

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[1] The Taxila of Porus was, of course, quite a different place,—namely, Taksila in the north of the Punjab. But Takshak Nâgara was a place in Rajputana.

has both the vowels short, whereas in the names of the two places, called *Nâgari* and *Nâgar*, which I discovered, the first vowel *á* is long; and therefore, I think, that the names of these two places may possibly have originally borne some reference to the Nâga race. It is remarkable that the site of the great ancient city of Nâgar, which I discovered, between 35 and 40 miles to the east-north-east half north-east of Deoli, is situated close to the Karkota range of hills. Now, Karkot, as well as Takshak, means a serpent, or *Nâga*; for Karkota was one of the brothers of Takshak, the son of Kasyapa. General Cunningham, in his Archæological Report, 1863-64, Vol. II, p. 10, says:—

"According to the *Mahabharâta* and the *Purânas*, the Takshakas were the descendants of Takshaka, one of the many sons of Kasyapa by his serpent-wife Kadru. Other sons were called Nâga, Karkota, Vasuki, Sesha, Mahâpadma, &c., all of whom were equally regarded as kings of the serpents, while their names are used quite indiscriminately to designate the ophite race. Thus, Nâgas, Karkotas, and Takshakas, are all names of but one and the same people. As descendants of Kadru, they are also called Kâdravas or Kâdraveyas. This name I find upon three very old cast coins in my own possession, given in its Pali form as Kâdasa. The coins are of two different types, but in all the specimens the name is accompanied by the figure of a snake."

Now, the town of Nâgar, which is situated upon part of the site of the ancient city of that name which I discovered, is sometimes called Karkot Nâgar by some of the natives of the surrounding country; and therefore I believe that the ancient name of the place was Karkota Nâgawara; and that, in like manner, one of the ancient names of Nâgari, the other ancient site which I discovered further south, near Chitor, must have been Takshak Nâgari, or Takshaka Nâgawara.

The site of the ancient city of Nâgari,[1] or Tambavati Nâgari, is now entirely stripped of any remains of temples or sculptures, with the exception of the mound, and the single sculptured stone which I have already described, and a few stones of the old city buried in the earth and projecting here and there from its embankment; and therefore I think it is very possible that they may have all been taken off to Chitor, soon after it fell into the hands of the Sisodias or Gehlots.

The site of the ancient city of Nâgari may be described as a sort of elevated flat-topped ridge or raised plateau,

[1] The name of Nâgari might otherwise possibly be a contraction of Nâg-garhi, which would mean the Nâga fort.

rising from the right or east bank of the Birach or Bairis River;[1] this raised plateau being narrow from east to west, and long from north to south. The ancient town, as a whole, or in its entirety, seems to have consisted of two parts,—namely, (1) an enclosed citadel towards the south, surrounded and fortified by broad ramparts on the south and east, and defended by the Birach River on the west; and (2) of an outlier town, towards the north, which may or may not have been enclosed within a fortification wall or rampart in ancient times; but if so, of this particular wall or rampart no traces now exist, except for a short distance on the east side, where there is a continuation of the following. A somewhat detached outer rampart, however, which apparently defended the principal entrance to the citadel towards the north-east, and also defended the entrance to a ravine running from east to west, which leads to a ghât on the river, continues for some distance also along the eastern side of the site of the old outer town, on which the present village of Nâgari now stands. The ravine above referred to divides the site of the citadel from the site of the outer town; and, as I before intimated, the present village of Nâgari, I believe, stands on the site of the old outer town.

The deep bed of a small stream runs from north to south outside the eastern boundary of the citadel, and nearly parallel to the eastern rampart, as well as to the course of the Birach River. This stream, with its bed constantly deepening more and more between high banks, then turns sharp round towards the west, outside the south-eastern corner of the citadel, and runs close along the base of the southern rampart, until it joins the River Birach; so that the site of the ancient city was defended by the River Birach on the west and by the deep bed of a stream on the east and south, forming thus a peninsular position, and rendering the digging of a deep moat outside the ramparts totally unnecessary.

I made a survey of the site of the ancient citadel of Nâgari, and found it to be about 1,805 feet in length from north to south, while it is about 600 feet in breadth at the broadest part, and about 400 feet at the narrowest part, from east to west. The site of the outer town (on which the present village is situated) is of a somewhat greater

[1] I presume this is the river which Tod calls the "Bairis;" but the river on which Nâgari is situated is called the "Birach" by the natives of the place.

breadth from the river than the citadel, or between 700 feet; but the length I found to be uncertain, or not easily definable. I should, however, be inclined to estimate it at somewhere between 1,600, 1,700 feet. According to this estimate, therefore, added to the actual ascertained length of the citadel, the total extent of the ancient city from north to south along the Birach River, including both the citadel and the site of the outer town, would be about 3,500 feet, or about two-thirds of a mile.

I have spoken of the site of the ancient city of Nâgari as consisting of an elevated flat-topped ridge or raised plateau, of which the length along the river is considerable, but the breadth back from the river being much narrower. This might, perhaps, lead some to the conclusion that I was speaking of a natural elevation. But this is not the case. The elevated site of the citadel, at least, is composed entirely of artificially-made work and the débris or long-continued inhabitation; for down to the very level of the shore or beach of the River Birach, at a depth of some 40 feet at least, I found that the soil was full of ancient bricks and pottery, and stones which had been used in building. Looking at an outer section of the rampart from the deep bed of the smaller stream on the south side, I found that the elevated site of the citadel rested at its base primarily on a low bed of granite rock, overlaid by a thin superstratum of calcareous conglomerate, and was composed first of made earth, then of bricks, and lastly surmounted on the crest of the rampart by a double coping of large squared stones, or large stones laid down in two parallel lines on the top of the rampart; the whole of this artificially-made elevation being about 45 feet in height at this point. I must, however, add that rock does crop out through the soil at the northern end of the present village of Nâgari. There alone the face of the rising ground is rocky. On the south-eastern corner of the ramparts there are the remains of the foundations of a square tower, measuring about 25 feet each side. The middle or more northerly portion of the eastern rampart has become almost effaced, nearly to the level of the interior elevation.

The ancient inhabitants of Nâgari do not seem to have considered it necessary to build any rampart on the west side, as the position there is well defended by the broad River Birach. But along the top of the high bank which overhangs the river, there forming the outer edge of the elevated site of the old citadel, I still found the double parallel line

of large stones continued; so that I suppose that these may have formed the base or foundation of a simple, low stone wall at that part.

I found numerous large bricks, of great thickness, at Nâgari; but as none of these were quite perfect, I was only able to ascertain their breadth and thickness, but not their actual length. The thickness of the largest bricks at Nâgari I ascertained by measurement to be $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and their breadth about 11 inches, or a little more; so that although the thickness of these Nâgari bricks equalled that of the largest of the bricks found at my other ancient city, Nâgari, further north, they were much less in breadth. The length of the Nâgari bricks I considered must have been originally about 1 foot 6 inches.

I think it is very possible that the old or former city of Nâgari may, in ancient times, have been much broader from east to west than the site now is, and that the uncommon narrowness of the site of the ancient citadel, as compared to its length along the river, may have been caused by a portion of the ancient city having been gradually cut away by the river, which here makes a considerable bend convexly inwards towards the centre of the site of the old city. The river here rises to a great height up the bank during the rains, as, when I visited it, just after the rains, I could see by the refuse, such as water-weeds, &c., left in a line on the bushes up the bank, showing the highest water-mark, that the water must have risen fully 24 feet during the rains above the level at which it then flowed.

Owing to my having obtained so many specimens of the ancient Hindu punch-marked type of coins at Tambavati Nâgari, this is perhaps as fitting a place as any to introduce any remarks I may have to make on the subject of the peculiar symbols displayed on the pieces of this antique coinage.

It may be well to bear in mind that General Cunningham supposes that this earliest type of Hindu coinage, without legends, may range in antiquity as high as from 500 to 1000 B. C. I may perhaps also be allowed to state that, in the course of some correspondence, General Cunningham expressed an opinion that before the time of Asoka these punch-marked coins were everywhere current.

We may therefore suppose that the secondary class of ancient Hindu coinage which succeeded the above,—namely those of the ancient Hindu coins which first begin to bear

legends, in the oldest known indigenous Sanskrit character (that is, in the earliest form of what is commonly called the *lât* character),—did not commence until about the period of Asoka.

The oldest form of the most ancient known Hindu money consists simply of square, or irregular-shaped, flat pieces or bars of silver, or mixed metal, or copper, which are quite blank, and devoid of any symbols whatever, and some of which have transverse indentations cut across them, as if intended for division. The next progressive gradation in type, as to time, of this coinage, or what may be called the earliest punch-marked coinage, displays sometimes one, and sometimes two or more, symbols, stamped on or into one side of the coin by a punch, while the other side, or reverse, is blank; while at other times, one distinct symbol only appears stamped on what we may call the obverse, and an indistinct mark or indentation on the reverse. The third progressive gradation of the same coinage displays a collection of often numerous and varied symbols stamped on the obverse, and either a single or sometimes two punch-marked devices on the reverse. Now, it is with these symbols that I shall particularly have to do in my present remarks.

The symbols on these coins had long been an object of attention and thought to me, more particularly as I discovered certain symbols on them which closely resembled some peculiar symbols displayed on one class of ancient British coins; and in some Notes on Indian coins, I believe I once drew the attention of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to this fact.

It was General Cunningham, however, who afterwards, in course of correspondence, drew my attention to the isolated punch-marked devices on the reverse of these coins, as being probably intended to indicate the particular city or place whence this coinage issued, or where these pieces were minted. For instance, he observed that the majority of the punch-marked coins found on the site of the ancient city of Taxila bore one peculiar symbol on their reverse,—namely, a device composed of a small circular centre with four semicircular or half-moon-shaped arms or branches, at right angles; and he therefore considered this to be the special symbol of the city of Taxila. He consequently enquired of me whether the punch-marked coins I had obtained in certain localities in Râjpntâna had any symbol peculiar to them.

It may, perhaps, therefore not be out of place here to give a list of the symbols which characterise the obverses and reverses of the coins of this type obtained by myself, but commencing first, for the sake of comparison, with a description of a few specimens of this class of coinage as figured by Prinsep. I shall then give a description of some specimens of ancient British Celtic coinage bearing somewhat similar symbols.

Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coin.	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
Specimens of punch-marked coins, illustrated by Prinsep from a collection made by Stacy, and from other sources.	1	Round	A rayed circular figure, representing either the sun or a wheel. A tree with branches terminating with leaves. Apparently the head and shoulders of a human figure. An indistinct device consisting of two arcs, or segments of circles, and a crescent.	Four balls, or small circles, closely connected by four lines at right angles.
Ditto ...	2	An irregular rounded shape.	A rayed circular figure. A Bodhi tree with railing. Two human figures standing.	Four balls, or double circles, connected by four lines at right angles.
Ditto ...	3	Round	Four small circles connected by four lines at right angles. A Bodhi tree with leafy branches. A square figure containing a small circular object in each corner. A portion of a square linear figure with a line run through it at right angles.	Four large double circles connected by four lines at right angles.
Ditto ...	4	Square	A circular nucleus from which six branches or radii proceed outwardly, each alternate branch being in the form either of a barbed arrow-head, or of a two-legged fork. A line terminating in a circle.	The *Swastika* cross.

Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coins.	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
Specimens of punch-marked coins, illustrated by Prinsep from a collection made by Stacy, and from other sources.	5	Square ...	A circular rayed figure. A *chaitya* or three arcs surmounted by a crescent. A *Swastika* cross. And apparently the head and arm of a human figure.	An oblong-shaped figure containg six circular indentations in two parallel lines of three each—it being in reality composed of a straight line, over and across which two lines twist, each the reverse way, like the *caduceus* of Mercury.
Ditto ...	6	Irregular-sided.	A circular rayed figure. A leaf. A small circle with a dot in the centre. A line from the centre of which two branches proceed, one on each side, the two branches forming two acute angles and two obtuse angles with the line from which they proceed; thus forming a figure like a Druidic cross. Three parabolically curved lines.	A *chaitya* composed of three arcs surmounted by a crescent.
Ditto ...	7	Oblong square-shaped.	The figure of an elephant, with the trunk thrown upwards, on the centre of the coin. A circular figure at one corner. An animal (a quadruped of some kind) at another corner. A figure composed of four branches at right angles, each branch terminating in a trefoil, at the third corner. A peculiar symbol composed of a line crossed by another line at right angles, on the top of which there is a triangle, with its apex turned down the reverse way, and a small short line proceeding from its left side. Below the arms of the cross on either side, there is a symbol shaped like the *lât* character form of	

Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coins.	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			the letter "M," or like a small ball surmounted by a crescent, or like the astronomical symbol for *Taurus*.	
Specimens of punch-marked coins illustrated by Prinsep from a collection made by Stacy and from other sources.	8	Irregular-sided.	On the centre of this coin there is a circle containing spokes proceeding from a centre to the circumference, and from the exterior of the circle, other short spokes proceed beyond it, each terminating in a knob or short cross-bar. To the left of this there is the Bodhi tree with railing. To the right, a cross, the three upper branches of which each terminate in a three-leaved flower; this floral cross apparently proceeding upwards out of a Buddhist railing. Above this, there are three letters of the same type as the ancient *lât* character, which may be read as *Pataja*, or *Hataja*. Below, in the left-hand corner, there are four little balls connected by four lines at right angles. To the right of this a figure like the letter *Ga* of the *lât* character. To the right of that, again, a perpendicular line surmounted a horizontal line, the left end of which is turned upwards and the right end downwards.	A flower-shaped figure, like an open lotus flower, composed of a circular centre, from which proceed ten angular leaves.
Punch-marked coins obtained by me from Tambavati Nâgari, 12 miles north of Chitor.	1	Square silver or mixed metal, and round copper coins.	A rayed circular figure. An oblong *caduceus*-shaped symbol, with six semi-circular spaces in two parallel lines, formed by two recurved lines twisting across a central straight line. A human figure, with a plume turned forwards over the head, holding a spear in the left hand. A circular figure with six branches,	The *caduceus* symbol alone on a silver coin. The *caduceus* symbol, accompanied by a symbol composed of four circles connected by four lines at right angles, on the copper coins.

Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coin.	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			of which the nucleus is composed of a dot surrounded by a circle, from which proceed six branches outwardly, each alternate branch of which, respectively, takes the form of a barbed arrow-head, or the *lât* character form of the palatal letter *S*, and of two prongs proceeding outwards from a ball, or like the *lât* character form of the letter *M*. I consider the branches of this circular radiated figure to represent a continuous succession of the letters *Ma-ṣa*, or *Śa-ma*. Lastly, there is also a *chaitya* symbol composed of three arcs.	
Continuation of punch-marked coins obtained by me from Tambavati Nâgari, 12 miles north of Chitor.	2	Circular, copper.	A bird with a radiated tail. A human figure, with a plume, turned forwards over the head, and holding a spear in the left hand. The circular radiated figure, each alternate ray or branch of which is either shaped like a barbed arrow-head, or terminates in two prongs.	The *caduceus* symbol.
Ditto ...	3	Irregular-sided.	A Bodhi tree, with leafy branches, and Buddhist railing.	Four double circles connected by four lines at right angles.
Ditto ...	4	Large; copper; irregular shaped; nearly round.	A *chaitya* symbol, composed of five arcs, surmounted by two somewhat square-sided compartments, arched at top, with a dot in the centre of each, and a branch proceeding out of the top from between the two. A Bodhi tree with railing. A truncated human figure, with a square head-dress, surmounted by a spike or plume. Also, the remains	The *caduceus* symbol.

Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coins.	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			of the circular figure., with barbed arrow head-shaped, and two-pronged branches, as described above.	
Continuation of punch-marked coins obtained by me from Tamba-vati Nâgari, 12 miles north of Chitor.	5	Square; mixed metal.	Four circles, connected by four lines at right angles.	Indistinct; but apparently some defaced symbol, like a line curling round at top, or something, shaped apparently like a shepherd's crook, or a strigil, but too much defaced to be distinguished.
Ditto ...	6	Oval-shaped; copper.	A *swastika* cross, the ends of the arms of which are recurved in a circular manner.	An indistinct symbol with rays proceeding from a circular centre.
Ditto ...	7	Round-shaped; copper.	A stiff human figure, of rude execution, with broad, squared shoulders, and the arms pointing straight downwards at right angles.	Blank.
Punch-marked coins found at Nâgar, about 30 to 40 miles to the east-north-east from Deoli.	1	Oblong; silver.	A circular, rayed figure.	The half of a circular, rayed figure, showing three angular points.
Ditto ...	2	Half circular; debased silver.	A character stamped in, shaped something like the letter *L* of the *lât* alphabet. Another smaller stamp to the right of the former, shaped something like the letter *Dh* or *Ph*, of the *lât* alphabet.	Two small, deep indentations, close together, which probably denote the value of the coin.
Ditto ...	3	Three sides at right angles, and the fourth side rough and irregular; copper.	A number of curious stamps or indentations, the meaning of which it is difficult to divine. One is shaped something like the letter *R*, or *D* of the Bactrian or Ariano-Pali alphabet. Another, something like	Blank, but partly eaten away by corrosion.

Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coins.	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			the letter *Ph* or *Dh* of the *lât* alphabet. Another, something like the letter *H* of the same alphabet. Another, in the form of a simple curve.	
Continuation of punch-marked coins found at Nâgar, about 35 to 40 miles to the east-north-east from Deoli.	4	Small; square-shaped; cut off at one corner.	Two circular wheels, with eight spokes, very distinct. Below these there is a symbol, shaped like a shepherd's crook or strigil, to the right, and a square indentation, with a raised curved line running into it, to the left. Another similar coin has, instead of the last mentioned symbol, a device like a trident, or a hand with three fingers.	Blank, or with a mere indentation.
Ditto ...	5	Blank, variously-shaped pieces of metal.	Plain-squared, or oblong, pieces, or bars, of copper or mixed metal: some of them cut across by an indentation, as if for division.	
Punch-marked coins from the site of the ancient city of Taxila (General Cunningham).	...	...		A circular nucleus, surrounded by four semi-circles, the convexities of which are turned towards the centre, and their concavity and the points or ends of the semi-circular curves turned outwards.
A more developed class of Hindu coins, which were apparently cast in moulds, with the device on them in very bold relief. From various parts of Northern and Western India.	...	...	Some of the coins of most common occurrence of this type have on the obverse a bull or a lion, with a sort of erect standard in front of the former, formed like a cross surmounted by a triangle, with the apex turned downwards.	A *chaitya*, with three arcs, surmounted by a crescent.

Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coins.	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
A still more advanced class of coinage, representing the earliest of the die-struck series, from the north-west of India.	...	...	On the obverse of one of the most common types of this coinage, there is a small erect human figure, of rude execution, with one arm raised, probably representing Buddha. To the left of the figure, or to the right on the coin, a stiff conventional representation of the Bodhi tree. Under the feet of the standing figure there is a horizontal symbol, shaped like the *vajra*, or thunderbolt, of the Hindu divinities. Legends various, in the old *lât* character. One type of these coins has a king's head on the reverse, others have a horse, or a bull, or a stag.	On the reverse commonly a horse or a bull; but sometimes a stag; and in one type a human head.
Many other varieties of these two latter more developed classes of ancient Hindu coinage might be given, but the above must serve for present purposes.	...	...		
Ancient British coins, bearing devices somewhat similar to those found on some of the most ancient Hindu types of coinage.	1	Round-shaped.	Coins, of which one of the faces, which we shall call the obverse, is covered with numerous curious symbols and devices. The most conspicuous and central device represents a tall, two-legged animal, which may be said to resemble either a hen, or a crane, or a stork. It has large ears or horns, a beak like that of a stork, a neck with heckles like that of a cock, a body like that of a horse or a greyhound, and of the two legs the upper parts resemble those of either a horse or a greyhound, and the lower parts those	On the reverse of one of these coins, there is the word , which may either be the name of some king, or may signify 'being' or 'existence,'—from *bud*, 'world,' 'universe," 'that which exists.'

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Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coins.	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			of a bird. The tail is divided into three plumes, each terminating with a knob. In the open beak of this animal there is some object which will presently be referred to. This is the conventional representation of *Ceridwen*, the British Ceres, or great arkite mother and protector of all, who, in some of the ancient Druidic mysteries, was represented as "a great hen," with red fangs, and a three crested comb, as the protectress of the candidate for initiation, and the preserver of living things, and of the race of mankind in general. The hen represented, in fact, the great mundane incubator. While in other parts of the same mysteries, Ceridwen was represented as a "proud mare," and "the mother of all," which latter *mythos*, no doubt, gave rise to the fable of the "Trojan horse" (or rather mare?). which gave birth to the host which captured Troy in order to restore Helen, the female mythological impersonification of light. The object in the mouth, or beak, of this strange mythological animal on the British coins I believe to represent an infant of the human race. In Germany a toy may very frequently be seen representing a stork with a baby in its open beak, which, as the German nurses, or *ammes*, will often tell children, represents the stork which brings the babies into the world; and when a new baby is born in a family,	

Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coins.	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			German nurses will account for its appearance, in reply to the enquiries of inquisitive children, by saying that it was brought there by a stork; and I believe the idea of this to be derived from some ancient mythological tradition, allied to the ancient British Celtic, or Druidical, *mythoi* concerning *Ceridwen*. In front of the figure of this mythological animal, on the British coins, there are two other objects similar to that which it holds in its mouth. Below the breast of the animal, there is a wheel, with eight spokes, exactly resembling the Buddhist *chakra*, or wheel, on the Buddhist coins of India. In the field, or exergue, of the coin, towards the rear of the mythological animal, there is an oval, or eye-shaped figure with a dot in its centre. On one coin, also, there are three small stars, two in front of, and one behind the neck of the animal. Besides the emblems and devices already described, there also occur various dots or circles, and crescent-shaped curves, some of which may possibly refer to the moon.	
Continuation of ancient British coins, bearing devices somewhat similar to those found on some of the most ancient Hindu types of coinage.	2		A coin of somewhat more considerable size, with a most extraordinary representation of an animal, the body of which is shaped like that of a horse, but which has a human head crowned. This animal is represented as running at full speed, and driven by a curious figure, the upper	The nature of the reverse of this coin is not known.

Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coins	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			part of which is human, but the lower part of which has a screw-shaped termination. This latter figure has twisted hair, which comes down in a point behind; and in the right hand there is a whip; and its left hand, which shews only a finger and thumb, is apparently stretched out to clutch the neck of the human-headed horse. Beneath the legs of the human-headed horse, there is the prostrate figure of a man, having a beard, and dressed in a sort of kilt, or tunic, and wearing a head-dress very much like a Phrygian bonnet, ending in a point behind. The right hand of this prostrate figure holds an object which exactly resembles the ancient Etruscan form of the letter *A*. In front of the human-headed horse, there are the letters YE (YE?—or VE?)	
Continuation of ancient British coins, bearing devices somewhat similar to those found on some of the most ancient Hindu types of coinage.	3		A human head and bust, with wings, or flames, proceeding from its shoulders, and the legend ((*D*) *onai*), which I consider to represent the name of *Adonai*.	A winged centaur, the fore-legs of which are in a straight or erect position, but the hind-legs in a bent or sitting posture. It appears to be a combination between a centaur and a sphinx.
Ditto ...	4		Another coin has, on the obverse, the representation of a horse, with the legend round the margin, which signifies "the prince."	The reverse has the word "VER," surrounded by dots.
Ditto ...	5 & 6		Two other ancient British coins; have a spirited representation of a bull on their reverse. Under the bull, on one of these,	

Source or locality of the coinage.	Number of coins.	Shape of coin.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			the word VZI is written. On the obverse of this coin, there is the head of a king, with the word ("Cynobelin") round the margin, and the remains of the word signifying "Prince." On the obverse of the other coin, with the "bull" symbol, there is a human head wreathed, and the word round the margin. The latter word is variously spelt, on different coins, as "TVSCIV," "TVSCYV," "TVSCIO," and "TVSCIV;" but in whatever form this ancient British title appears, it is undoubtedly equivalent to the Welsh *Tywysoc*, "a prince," and the Gaelic *Toiseach*, "a first man," or "foremost man," or "chief."	
Continuation of ancient British coins, bearing devices somewhat similar to those found on some of the most ancient Hindu types of coinage.	7		Another coin has, on the obverse, a fine human head, with curly hair and beard, and a ram's horn ornamenting the side of the head: and on the margin, there is the word (*Cernonio*), which signifies "the horned." The head very much resembles some of the horned heads of Alexander the Great, as seen on coins and gems, but the legend agrees with the name of the Gaulish horned divinity "CERNVNNOS."	On the reverse of this coin there is the recumbent figure of an animal like a lion, underneath which there is the word (*Gam*), which signifies "the blind," which must have some mythological allusion.

Thus, the symbols of the bull, the horse, the wheel, and dots, and circles, and crescents, and stars, and curious mythological animals, were almost as common on a certain class of ancient British coins as on ancient Hindu coins. As

to the wheel, the *chakra* of the Hindus, I may mention that it was a sacred Druidical symbol. "Arianrod" (or Iris) is termed by the Bards "the goddess of the silver wheel."

The sacred brindled ox or bull of the Druids, called *Beer Lled*, or "the flaming bull," with seven score knobs on his collar, was attended by three cranes, one of which was perched on his head, another on the middle of his back, and a third at the extremity near the tail. These birds emblematically represented the sun at his rising meridian and setting, and also the three principal officers or hierophants officiating in the ceremonies of initiation into the mysteries.

The Druidic bull was the Mithraic bull.

The seven score knobs on the collar of the bull were an illustration of the sacred formula $((7+3+3^2)\times 7+7)=140$. The cranes represented the ibis of the Egyptians, which signified "father of fire."

Davies, in his treatise on the ancient British coins, remarks on the effigy of *Ceridwen* displayed on some of the coins. The mythological form of Ceridwen, as represented on the ancient British coins, and resembling that of a great bird like an ostrich, or a stork, or a huge hen, or like a horse, is thus referred to by Taliesin in his poem of *Angar Cyvyndawd*, where, in covert and symbolical language, he describes the various stages of his initiation into the mysteries. He says:

> "I was received by a hen with red fangs and a divided crest. I remained nine months an infant in her womb. * * * Again was I instructed by the cherisher of the red fangs. Of what she gave me, scarcely can I utter the praise that is due." Again, Taliesin, describing his initiation, says: "The secrets were imparted to me by the old giantess without the use of audible language." Again: "The gigantic goddess, Ceridwen, in the form of a proud mare emerging from behind the veil, now seized the astonished candidate, and by main force bore him away to the mythological sea of Dylan, into whose purifying stream he was immediately plunged by the attendant priest, and hence he was said to be changed into a fish; and to remain a whole year in the deep in the character of 'Arawn, the arkite.'" (*History of Initiation*, page 210.)

This strange mythological animal represented on some of the ancient British coins, symbolising one of the mystic forms of *Ceridwen*, as described above, finds its parallel in some Hindu mythological representations. There is now a drawing before me, the work of a Hindu artist, a native of Orissa, which represents an impersonification, or incarnation,

of one of the Hindu deities, to which the Uriya name of *Nûbû Rûjûrû* has been given; and from the presence of the *padma*, or lotus, and the blue colour in two instances introduced into parts of the picture, there is reason to presume that it is in some way connected with the worship, or incarnations, of Vishnu, whose peculiar element is water. This figure possesses the head of a cock, the neck of a peacock (which is blue), the shoulders and hump of a bull, and the body of a lion. Its right fore-leg is formed of the hand and arm of a man or woman, with a bracelet on the wrist, and holding perpendicularly, by a long stalk, a lotus flower shaped like a wheel with eight spokes, surrounded by upwardly-pointed leaves, and surmounted by a spike, which is the sign of life and immortality, and closely resembles in outline the Egyptian looped sign of life, as well as the eight-spoked wheel on the ancient British coins. The left fore-leg is that of an elephant, the right hind-leg that of a leopard or tiger, and the left hind-leg that of a horse; while the tail is formed by the body of a sacred hooded snake or *Nag*, terminating with the snake's head.

Before this extraordinary monstrosity stands the figure of Arjun, one of the Pandus, in a supplicatory attitude, and who is painted a blue colour (which is the sign of, or sacred to, Vishnu); a bow and arrow lie on the ground, which Arjun has just cast down, for he is armed with a quiver, and from the position of the arrows, which lie under the feet of the monster, they have evidently been unavailingly shot at the invulnerable monster, by Arjûn, who now acknowledges the divinity.

MORA.

MORA is the site of an ancient place said to have been founded by Moradhwaj of the Yadu line of the Lunar race. It lies about 34 miles to the north of the Banas River, or about 25 miles due north of the Muhammadan town of Malarna, and about 40 miles to the south of Mhowa, on the Agra and Jaypûr road, about 30 miles to the north-east of Chatsû, and about 25 miles to the east-south-east of Deosa.[1]

It is situated on the western side of a great valley, between two ranges of lofty, bare, reddish-coloured hills, which run nearly north and south.

Mora, as before stated, was originally the name of the site of an ancient city said to have been founded by Moradhwaja, a Raja of the Yadu line of the Lunar race, who, according to the local traditions, is reputed to have lived in the time of the Pandus, and to have been a contemporary of Krishna.

But at the conclusion of Tod's "Annals of Amber" *Rajasthan*, Vol. II., p. 438, he mentions the names of several ancient places where research might produce interesting results in the way of discoveries of antiquities or inscriptions. Among these he mentions Mora, as having been founded by Mordhuj, a Chohan Raja! Tod, however, must be mistaken as to the Chohan origin of Moradhwaj, as all the traditions which refer to him clearly state that he was of the Yadu line of the Lunar race.

Mora, as it at present exists, consists of three distinct portions, namely—

I.—The Purâna Khera, or the ruined site of the original ancient city built by Moradhwaj, situated on a step-shaped, or shelf-like, rocky platform, about half-way up a bare reddish-coloured hill, which is somewhat detached from the rest of the range to which it belongs by two steep, narrow, rocky valleys, or gorges, one on each side, north and south. The way up to this ancient site is by a zigzag causeway, which ascends from the southern gorge, at the entrance to which there is a famous sacred kûnd, or tank, which is a place of pilgrimage; pilgrims come there to bathe in the kûnd two days in the year, namely, one in the month of Jyeshtha

[1] Tod makes Mora to be only nine kôs east of Deonsah. But, in the first place, Mora is situated somewhat south of east from Deosa, and, in the second place, it is more than nine kôs from Deosa. It may possibly be about ten kôs in a straight line as the bird flies, or according to the Rajputana computation of the length of a kôs which is about one-third, or often nearly one-half, more than the standard kôs of Agra and Delhi.

and at the full moon of the month of Magha, which latter fell this year (1873) on the night of the 11th January, at the very time that I was at Mora. The men bathed in the kûnd first in the early morning, just before daybreak, and numerous parties might be seen waiting along the road for the propitious time for bathing; the women bathed afterwards during the day. The women came back in parties, of whom some in advance of each party were singing and dancing, the subject of their song being apparently some rhyme in praise of the kûnd of Mora. The few words which I could catch sounding something like—

"Jai! Jai! Jai! Jai!
Daliya, daliya, bará pût!
Naháy, naháy, jo Mora Kûnd!"

Another old name of this ancient city on the height appears to have been Raj Khét; and this name is engraved in Nagri characters on a rock near the head of the gorge.

II. Purâna Gâm Mora, a large antiquated-looking village, situated partly at the foot and partly on the slope of the hills, about the mouth of the gorge, immediately below the *Purâna Khera.* The road to the kûnd passes through this village. The situation of this place very much resembles that of Mâchâri.

III.—New Mora, which is a small modern town, surrounded by mud fortifications, situated on the low ground, at the distance of about half a mile from the foot of the hills.

What remains of the ancient city of Mora on the height consists of numerous ruins of deserted buildings, some of which are said to be those of palaces, while others are those of ordinary dwellings, and a few are those of temples. Two ruins in particular are conspicuous when looking up at the height from below, namely, the ruin of a large building, which far exceeds the rest in size, and which, in all probability, is that of a palace or citadel and, secondly, a pyramidal shaped structure, which is the sikar of a deserted temple.

On the slope, or face, of another hill in the same range, about three-quarters of a mile to the left, or south, of the above, there is the rugged ruin of some large and lofty two-storeyed building, and in a sort of hollow, on the lower slope of a more distant hill, to the right, or north, there is standing the lofty end wall of some large building, which has exactly the appearance of the east gable end wall of some abbey

ruin, such as we see in Europe. This last ruin overhangs the village of Cheronda, which lies about two miles to the north, at the foot of the continuation of the same hill range.

The entire extent of the deserted ruined town of old Mora on the height is about half a mile square, that is, this is about the extent of the area now actually covered by ruins; but a somewhat larger area is embraced within the fortification walls of the old city,[1] which run along the edge of the cliffs of the sides of the rocky platform on which the ancient city stood, and therefore I consider that the present ruins, which are not very ancient, do not represent the original extent of the ancient city, but rather the diminished extent of a middle-aged town, built on the site of the ancient city, and probably out of its ruins; for loose blocks of stone, originally obtained from the rock which composes the very site, must have been easily appropriated from the ruins of a larger ancient city to rebuild a middle-aged town of lesser extent. I should, therefore, estimate the extent of the original ancient city to have been somewhere about a mile square; and I would consider this to have been the extent of the area of the fortified city on the height alone; for the large village, now called Purâna Gâm Mora, which surrounds the mouth of the gorge, and runs partly up the lower slopes of its sides, is evidently also an ancient inhabited spot, and contains the ruins of many deserted buildings, and I believe that this originally constituted the lower outer town, or suburb, of the ancient city. The sacred kûnd, or tank, which is situated about the apex or middle of the upper part of this village, evidently consisted originally of a natural basin in the rock, which was filled either by a spring at its bottom, or else by the water which trickles down into it from the steep rocky gorge above, which is the bed of a fierce foaming torrent during the rains. This natural basin was taken advantage of to form a tank by squaring its sides and hewing out steps to lead down to the water, and then enclosing the whole within a low wall, at the southern side of which there is a building containing a shrine and a place for the attendant Brahmans to reside in. The actual area of the water contained in the tank, when I saw it, did not exceed 40 feet square, so that the bathers must be pretty well packed together in such a confined space.

[1] This outer fortification wall along the edge of the cliffs was built merely of loose stones, and has been, in many places, entirely demolished.

The waters of this kûnd are always warm, or tepid: and this warm temperature of the water is natural, and is most likely produced by some warm spring in the bed of the tank.

I have said that I consider that the ruins now standing on the Purâna Khera, or the site of the ancient city of Mora on the height, are only of middle age, and not very ancient. I came to this conclusion, not from the comparatively fresh appearance of the blocks of stone of which the ruined buildings are composed, for where such stones are obtained from the surrounding rock on the spot, the stones which have been squared by the chisel for building purposes, must, of course, always have a much fresher appearance than the rough rock *in situ*, but I was led to this conclusion from the fact that all the doorways which still remain standing, such as those of the oldest temple ruin, or of the citadel palatial buildings, are all arched, and every arch is pointed, a sort of recurved pointed arch. Therefore these buildings cannot be older than the period when the pointed arch had been at least partially adopted, or had come into occasional use, by the Hindus in architecture; and as we know the opinion of the Hindus concerning the arch, that it "never rests,"[1] and their predilection for the horizontal architrave supported by brackets, we may presume that the peculiarly shaped pointed arches which prevail among the ruins of the Purâna Khera of Mora, on the height, must have been an innovation, probably adopted owing to some peculiar fault or quality inherent in the stone, perhaps that of brittleness or cross fracture. The stone is a metamorphic calciferous rock, but possesses other ingredients, such as a proportion of silica, &c.

The citadel contains a large ruined palatial building, which is the oldest-looking structure of the whole. It is situated somewhat higher up than, and at the back of, the rest of the ruins. It is surrounded by a wall; and one

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[1] The Hindus are, in this matter, as in most others, theoretically right, but practically wrong; for while an arch exerts a certain amount of outwardly pushing force, that force is obliquely directed and equably distributed, while it possesses an adhesive quality which no kind of flat architrave whatever can possibly possess; and where an architrave is constructed of stone which is liable to crack or fissure, the arch proves the more durable structure of the two. A good arch gives way only gradually and by degrees, and at first causes only a sinking; whereas a flat architrave gives way at once and brings everything down with a run. And why? because the pressure of an arch is oblique and partial, and the superstructure above an arch itself for some distance takes the same form and direction as the arch itself; whereas the whole pressure of a flat architrave and its horizontal superstructure is directed collectively upon one single point straight downwards; in short, the latter forms a dead weight pressing downwards on a single friable stone without any lateral support to counteract the pressure.

enters the front court, or *chauk* through a pointed archway. The palatial building stands at the back of this court and is a lofty structure, not very unlike some old ruined, castellated residence in Europe. The court, and the inner chambers of the palatial building, are overgrown with weeds and scrubby tangled jungle, and some of the dark lower chambers are said to have become a den of leopards. I, however, penetrated into the heart of the building without seeing any animal.

Immediately in front of the arched gateway of the citadel, on the opposite side of a narrow street or causeway, there is an old temple, which is remarkable for having a pyramidal-shaped sikar, or spire. The lower part of the sikar is square up to the roof of the vestibule; the sikar then takes the form of a perfect pyramid, of which the perpendicular height considerably exceeds its diametrical breadth. The vestibule is not supported on pillars, but on pointed arches, which pierce the side walls. The exterior of this temple is very plain, with very little attempt at ornamentation, with the exception of some angular bevillings on the sides of the sikar, and a little bead-work along the outer cornice of the wall-plates of the vestibule and sanctum. The interior is perfectly plain. The sikar may be about 40 feet in height from the ground.

At the right side of the entrance to the principal street, or causeway, there is another temple, almost exactly similar to the one above described, but rather smaller, and of even plainer construction. This temple is evidently much more modern than the other. It, however, possesses exactly the same kind of pyramidal spire.

There is nothing further worthy of remark in connection with these ruins, except the fact that some of the buildings have been two-storeyed, and that the doors and windows which remain in the walls of several of these are arched.

On a pinnacle of the hill, to the south of the rocky platform on which the remains above described are situated, there is a small detached clump of ruins, which are evidently the site of an outpost, or "look-out," for a military guard: as from the elevated position of this isolated nest of ruins, a full and uninterrupted view could be had of the country below towards the south, east, and north.

I could find no inscriptions, of even middle age, anywhere about Mora. The native guides whom I had with me

when I visited the ruins led me all the way to the very head of the gorge by a most rugged and difficult, steep, rocky path, to see some *bijak*, or, in other words, an inscription on the rock. But when, after considerable toil and fatigue, I arrived there, I found, to my disappointment, a quite modern Nagri inscription of four lines, very shallowly engraved on the rock, and which was evidently the work of some gosain. But even this modern inscription had been partly defaced, and the ends of the lines nearly obliterated by the torrents which descend down this rocky gorge during the rains. On another rock, not far from this, the words "*Ráj-Khèt Parbat*"[1] are engraved, and which is probably the name of the hill up to which the gorge ascends.

There are said to be a number of Moris, or Rajputs of the Mori tribe, still dwelling at Mora and in its immediate neighbourhood; and this fact, coupled with the name of the place (Mora), tends very much to confirm my inference that the ancient city was founded by the Moris; and in that case the Moradhwaj, who is traditionally reputed to have been the founder of the city, must, in all probability, have been a king of the Mori tribe.

We have thus three prominent facts which all point to the same conclusion, namely, (1), that the name of the place is Mora, (2), that it was founded by a king called Moradhwaj (3), that there are a number of Mori Rajpûts still living at and about Mora.

The name of Mora and that of the Moris is simply a corruption of "*Mayura*," which is the correct Sanskrit orthography of the word, and signifies "a peacock."

But from whom were these Moris or Mayurâs who founded Mora, descended? For there were also a dynasty of Mayurâ kings of Dehli, and the famous Mauryas of Magadha!

The following is the conclusion which I have arrived at after a careful consideration of the subject :—

It is now pretty well proved (as may be seen from my report on Chitor) that the Mayura kings who ruled at Dehli for about one hundred and fifty years B. C., were lineally descended from the last of the royal Maurya line of Magadha. Dehli was taken by Sakaditya, or Sakwanti, and the Mayurâs driven out of it about B. C. 60. Where, then,

[1] *Râj-Khet Parbat* probably signifies "the mountain or hill of the Raja's wound."

did the Mayuras, or their descendants, go after their expulsion from Dehli? I believe that they went south: and that one of them may have founded Mora, while another settled at Morwan or *Mori-ka-patan*, to the south of Chitor, ; for we know that Chitor was in possession of the Moris before it was taken by Bappa, the Gehlot, or Sisodia. If this be the case, then both Mora in the north, and Morwun, near Chitor, may have been founded at about B. C. 50. On the other hand, it is just possible that the Moradhwaja who founded Mora might be identifiable with the Sènadhwaja of General Cunningham's Mayura dynasty of Dehli, who lived about B. C. 210.

BIJÔLI.

BIJÔLI, OR VIJAYÂVALI, OR MÔRAKÛRO, OR AHAICHPÛR.

The fortified town of *Bijôli*, or *Vijayavâli* (which is the original Sanskrit form of the name) is situated in an elevated hollow, or table-land valley, in the midst of what is called the Upermal hill range of the great Aravalli mountain system, and which here forms the great table-land called the Pathar. Bijoli lies about 50 miles to the north-east from Chitor, and about 35 miles to the south-south-west from Bundi.

Bijôli, or Vijayûvali, appears to have had also two other names in ancient times, namely Môrakûro and Ahaichpur. But neither of the actual places bearing those names was situated quite on the site of the present town; Môrakûro having been located on a high ground about three-quarters of a mile to the south-east of the present town, while the identity of the site of Ahaichpûr would appear to be uncertain.

Bijôli itself, as it now exists, may be described as a somewhat small, but well-built and picturesque-looking town, confined within walls, and which looks more like a good-sized fortress than a small walled town. It is situated at the foot of the slope of the south-western face of a hill which rises to the north-east of it. A stream called the Mandagni runs past it, through the valley, southwards.

Bijôli, or Vijayâvali, would appear to have been founded in old times by some Rajas of the Hûn tribe, or, according to the local traditions, by a Raja Aun, or Hûn, or On. The Hûns were also more particularly the reputed founders of Barolli or Bhadravati, and Mainâl or Mahanâl, further south, and their name is also connected with Bhainsror; and this Hûn tribe were, in fact, in former times, the paramount lords of the whole country which lies between Kota, Bhainsror, Barolli, Mainâl, Bassi, and Bundi.

The Hûns would appear to have been conquered and dispossessed, successively, by the Chohâns and the Gehlots of Mewar. It must, I think, have been owing to some such conquest by another invading tribe that the name of Bijoli was changed from that of Ahaichpur to Vijayvali.

The name of Môrakûro, as applied either to old Bijôli, or to an old deserted site near it, would, I think, appear to

indicate the presence of the Moris from Chitor, as the possessors of Bijôli, at some remote period; because, when the Moris were in possession of Chitor, and were therefore the paramount lords of a large tract of country in the neighbourhood, it is more than probable that their sovereignty may have extended at least as far as what is now called Bijôli,—if not further.

Bijôli is now tributary to the Sisodia Ranas of Mewar. It is at present held by a family of the Pramara tribe, who bear the title of *Rao*. The present Raos of Bijôli were formerly, about two hundred and sixty years ago, Raos of Jagnèr, between Agra and Baiâna. Rao Asoka Pramâra, of Jagnèr, for some reason or other, either owing to having been dispossessed by the Muhammadans, or by invitation, came into Mewar, with all his *bassi* (*vasi*), or tenantry, or retainers, in the time of Amara Sinha Sisodia, Rana of Chitor, some time soon after A. D. 1610; and Amara Sinha married the daughter of Rao Asoka, and granted him the possession of Bijoli as a fief.[1] This Pramâra family of Raos are still in possession of Bijôli; and the present Rao appeared to be a very courteous and well-disposed person, and most particularly civil and obliging to any European travellers who happen to pass by way of Bijôli. He was one of the very few of the Râjputâna Chiefs whom I had to do with who proved at all polite and obliging; but the Bijôli Chief certainly stands first in the list for kindliness and courtesy.

The only objects of particular archæological interest about Bijôli are its temples, which are outside of the town, and certain inscriptions which are at two different spots, also outside of the town. The most famous and only remark worthy of the shrines at Bijoli, are three large and handsome, and elaborately sculptured Brahmanical temples, which are situated on low ground, on the left bank of the Mandagni stream, outside of the walls of the town, and about a quarter of a mile to the south-east of it. One of the temples contains four chambers, two of which are separate shrines; or it may be said to have been originally composed of two different temples, connected together under one roof, surmounted by two sikars and two domes,—so that, there are in reality altogether four temples. The low situation of these temples causes them to appear quite at a disadvantage beside the

[1] See Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p 742, "Personal Narrative."

high walls and bastion towers of the town of Bijôli, close by, and backed as they are too, by a hill, or long high ridge, which rises, with a gradual ascent, a short distance to the rear of them, on the north-east. The exact date of the construction of these temples I was unable to ascertain from any records or traditions of the place; and there are not any inscriptions actually in the temples themselves from which one could ascertain their age. But, on a slab of stone in the parapet wall of a fine tank of masonry, called the *Mandagni-ka-kund*, close to the temples, there is a very large inscription of sixteen lines, 8 feet in length, by 3 feet in breadth, which contains no less than seven dates, namely, "Samvat 1332," "Samvat 1352," "Samvat 1376," and "Samvat 1386" three times repeated! The first of these dates, namely "Samvat 1332," would be equivalent to A. D. 1275. Supposing therefore, as is most probable, that the tank was constructed some time after the temples were built, I think it is likely that the temples may have been built about A. D. 1200. But, as will be seen in the sequel, I found, on examination, that the present temples, though themselves probably old, were in reality, apparently, in part piece-work restorations of still older temples; or that they were, at least partly, and especially one of them, built up out of the already sculptured architectural fragments of other more ancient temples which had preceded them. For, in the body of the structure of at least one of these temples, I discovered certain sculptured stones and portions of pillars, which had an incongruous appearance, and did not agree with the other parts of the structure which surrounded them; and in one of the temples I found that pieces of sculpture and pillars were actually partly hidden in the masonry of the structure. Fine pillars, with splendid bracket capitals, there, were so built up into the walls of the central domed vestibule of one of the temples, that only one of the four brackets of the capitals of each projected out of the masonry! And that one bracket was all that could be seen of them until I ascended to a sort of small upper chamber or cell; and there I saw the other sides of two of the bracket capitals, with three splendid brackets complete, and the whole of one side of the upper part of the shaft of one of the pillars exposed to view! But all the other pillars belonging to this set were completely hidden, by being built up in the walls; the only sign of their

existence, as I said before, being a single bracket projecting inwardly from the cornice. I will, however, give a full description of the temples further on.

I must now return to the subject of the inscription in the parapet wall of the *Mandágni-ka-kúnd*. This inscription, as I mentioned before, is 8 feet in length by 3 feet in width; but the letters are so large that there are not more than nine lines in the main body of the inscription. There are four more separate lines which run cross-ways at right angles, at the left side of the inscription. Then there is the figure of a woman, holding a flower in one hand, which is accompanied by three small lines of inscription, one below the feet, and two above the head, of the figure. Lastly, there is the name of the engraver, in one short line of small letters, directly above the main portion of the inscription. This inscription is of very rude execution, and some of the letters are very badly and curiously formed, while there are a few of them which are totally unrecognizable and incomprehensible, and cannot be read in any way; and there are many errors in orthography, such as the use of the palatal *s* where the common dental *s* ought to be used, and had already been used in the very same word, and *vice versá*: as, for instance, "samvat" for "shamvat," and "shuta" for "suta." The word *sinha* is also indifferently spelt, with either the dental or the palatal *s*. In another case, a word which reads as *mrata*, occurs, where, from the context, either *bhrata* or *suta* was evidently intended. And a name is given as "*Kaula*" in one line, and as "*Kautha*" in another. The inscription is, however, of some importance, as, besides the fact that no less than six different dates are given in the body of it, and a seventh date, also, which is given in another separate or detached line of inscription, the names of several individuals are also given, who appear to have been men of consequence, as if on a par with nobles or rajas, and bearing the titular designation of *sinha*, but belonging to a tribe called Mathura, who may have been either Brahmans or Kayaths. The words "*Mathurámvaya Káyaschhatha*" frequently occur in the inscription; but this does not refer to the Kayasth tribe at all; but it bears reference to the Hindu ceremony of the purification of the body, in water, on the sixth day after child-birth, called the *Chhatha*, or "sixth;" and which ceremony was no doubt performed at the tank called the *Mandagni-ka-kúnd*.

The following is a reading of the whole inscription :—

Reading of the inscription at the "Mandâgni-ka-kûnd," at Bijôli.

[Separate line over the top.]

Bhatha Mohaña swasti Şri Şri Saṁ 1332 karigara shèto U...

1. C. Swasti|| gayâyaṁ piṇḍa dânè na Kurushètrè ravipatvañi§ Mandâkininânatmâtrè napraşro (or şvo?) tikalau yugè (or thugè?) || 1 thèmvaswa (or thèmkakha?) ghrathnu.
2. Samvat 1376, varshè Pausha sudi 10, ravau (or ravi?) naigama Kâyaschhaṭha Şri Kâkwa (or Kâkta?) suta Ḅalarukèna (or Bala Ukèna?) swâna dâua: Şri Mahañkâl pravjâksha (or prajñâşa?)
3. Swasti samvatu 1386, varshè Pausha, badi 5, somo Dèva, Şri Mahañkâl yâtrâ nitpamèva prâgamva.
4. Mathurânvaya Kâyaschhaṭha, Şri Kaula (or Kanṭhâ?) Siñha sutaṭhâ Kirtta Siñha mratâ (?) (or bhratâ?, or sutâ?) Anañda Siñha, putra Moṭhâ (or Movâ?, or Mola? Siñha, Şri.
5. Mathurânvaya Kâyaschhaṭha, Şri Kaula Sinha suta Kirtta Siñha suta Shèṁva Siñha putra Kèla Siñha ila-
6.—ga karoti nitpamèva.
7. Mathurânvaya Kâyaschhaṭha, Şri Mahaña Sinhâ şuta-ṭha Şri Uda Ṭputra havikaṁva Şinha putra Râmké.
8.—na Şri Mahañkâl huñtènamañvakhaṁ nitpaṁ karoti âgataṁ şamvat—86, Pausha badi 5, şomè.
9. Mathurânvaya Kâyaschhaṭha, Şri Chhâjala sûta Puṁnâ suta Mèlu Dèva Mahakâl yâtrâ nitpamévamu Parswayati Şapari vârâya (or bâriya).

The four cross lines on the margin, to the left side, read as follows :—

1. Swasti samvat 1386, varshè Pausha badi 5, somè Dèva, Mahañka
2. Mandhakini tirthè jâtrá nityamèva prañaṁ thayati.
3. Naigamani (or naigamânè?) Kayaschhaṭha Şri Pûnaḍa putra. chhihila putra putra.
4. Ti Huñâ putra Nara Sinha ilaga Karoti.

(Two lines over the figure of a woman, holding a flower.)

1. Swasti samvat 1386.
2. Mira mâs."

(Single line below the figure of the woman.)

"Chandrè haḍa suta Kâma Dèva."

There is also a single separate long line of inscription, dated in "Samvat 1352," which reads as follows :—

"Samvat 1352, varshe Mârgrasira sudi 10 guâro Râja Bhima Sinha suta Râja Mahâdèva Tirtha Mañdâkini snâna dèva mahâ."

With regard to the names of individuals mentioned in the above inscription, it is worthy of remark that two of them,

namely those of Kaula Sinha and Shemva Sinha, are also mentioned in an inscription of the Baḍagûjar Rajas of Mâchâri, much further north, as may be seen in my report on Mâchâri. This is certainly at least a curious coincidence.

There is another large inscription on a horizontal slab of rock, on the ground, between two of the temples, namely, between the temple of Bijnâth and that of Hazarisar (or Sahasra-iswara). This inscription is 3 feet in length, by 2 feet in width. It is in fourteen lines, with another separate and additional line to one side of it. But I could not find any date in this inscription, and it appeared to consist merely of *slokas* of poetry; and I judged therefore that it was not of much importance, although I nevertheless took an impression of it.

Besides the three fine Brahmanical temples which I have already noticed, there are several other inferior or less notable shrines about Bijôli, which are apparently mostly of more modern construction, with one exception. The most remark-worthy of these latter is a large Jain temple dedicated to Pârşwanâth, but locally called Parakhnâth-ka-mandar, which is situated on a rising ground among trees, about three-quarters of a mile, or nearly a mile, to the south-east, from Bijôli. The door of this temple was unfortunately locked up when I visited Bijôli, so that I could not gain admittance. This Jain temple is, however, in a very much plainer style of architecture than the three Brahmanical temples nearer to the town of Bijôli previously noticed. As I before remarked, I was not able to gain admittance to the interior of this Jain temple, owing to the door being locked; but the exterior did not appear to me to present any remarkable features worthy of notice.

I, however, found two long and very important Jain Satti inscriptions on two Satti pillars near the Jain temple of Pârşwanâth. One of these inscriptions is dated in Samvat 1232, equivalent to A. D. 1175; and the other, judging by the style of the writing, was apparently of about the same period, or perhaps may have been executed a very few years earlier. These inscriptions were both considerably defaced; and the ends of several of the lines of the second one were chipped off or broken away. But as much of them as could be read with any certainty or distinctness proved to be of great importance. From the first of these inscriptions, dated in Samvat

1232, I obtained the names of no less than ten royal personages, six of whom bore the title of *Bhaṭṭâraka*, or "king" or "sovereign;" and two, if not three, of these names were confirmed by their being also mentioned in the second inscription, on the other Satti pillar.

The inscription dated Samvat 1232, is in twenty-four lines; but I found the remains of two or three short additional lines on the back of the stone. The other inscription, which appears to be a little older, is in thirty lines; with four short additional lines on the back of the stone.

The most important part of the first mentioned inscription, which is dated in Samvat 1232, begins about the middle of the third line, and continues thence to the end. The date is given in the twenty-second line of the inscription, as follows:—

"Samvat 1232 varshè Phâlguna sudi 3 || Surau || Ṣubhañmaṣu ||"

and the inscription terminates with the following:—

"Mrigâ-ṣîrṣa 52....?"

From the foregoing inscription I am able to make out the following genealogical table of the sovereign Rajas mentioned in the dated Jain Satti inscription from Bijôli. Most of them take the title of *Bhattâraka*. The names of those who do not bear this title are printed in italics—

1. Ṣri Vasanta Kirtti Deva.
2. *Ghâdindra Vinsana Kirtti Deva.*
3. Ṣri Ṣubha Kirtti Deva.
4. *Siddhanti Varmma Chandra Deva.*
5. Ṣri Ratna Kirtti Deva.
6. Ṣri Prabhâ Chandra Deva.
7. Ṣri Padmanandi Deva.
8. Ṣri Ṣubha Chandra Deva.

As Ṣubha Chandra Dévâ was living in Samvat 1232, or A. D. 1175, if we allow about 25 years for each generation and count back seven generations, then Vasanta Kirti Dévâ must have lived about A. D. 1000.

The second Satti inscription, which is in thirty lines, appears to refer to a Satti in the time of Raja Padmanañdi Dévâ, whose name is also mentioned in the inscription just quoted. The twenty-third and twenty-fourth lines, or eighth sloka, read as follows :—

(23rd line) "*8. Śri Padmanañdi vidvanvi ravyâtâ pribhuvanè pikirtghniñsvè*"

(24th line) *Śri* (or *Ṣtri ?*) *rati hîrati hûñ Sati hañrabhi* (or *radhi ?*) *huñ rotûm* (or *rottam ?*) *bha manuñha Ṣrutisyè.*" The name of "*Padmanañdi*" is also mentioned several times throughout the inscription.

There are four short lines of inscription on the back of the same Satti pillar, from which I obtained the above long inscription. These four lines are important, as they contain the names of two kings. They read as follows :—

"*Bhaṭṭâraka Śri Padmanandi Dévâ.*"	"*Bhaṭṭâraka Ṣri Ṣubha Chañdra Dévâ.*"

It will be remembered that the names of these two kings, Padmanandi Dévâ and Ṣubha Chañdra Dévâ, were mentioned in the genealogical portion of the other inscription, dated in Samvat 1232, which was first commented upon. Their names and titles are therefore confirmed by two different and entirely independent testimonies.

I have now some comments to make, on certain statements made by Tod, in his account of Bijôli (*Rajasthân*, Vol. II.) p. 744, "Personal Narrative." He says—

"Môrakûro, about half a mile east of Bijôli, is now in ruins; but there are remains of a kote, or castle, and a palace called the "No-choki" and no less than five temples to Pârṣwanâth * * * * * all of considerable magnitude and elaborate architectural details * My old Jain guru is hard at work copying * * * * * two inscriptions cut in the rock; one of the Chohan race, the other of the Sankh Pûrán. * * * * * * It is 15 feet long by 5 in breadth, and has fifty-two lines. The other is 11 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 6, and contains thirty-one lines. The genealogy is within the kote, or precincts of the old castle.

"There are likewise three temples dedicated to Siva, of still greater magnitude, nearer to the town, but without inscriptions; though one, in an adjoining kûnd called the Rewati, records the piety of the Gohi

Chief Rahil, who had bestowed a patch of land in the antri, defining minutely its limits and inviting others * * * * * in the preamble to his gift, to follow his example by the declaration that whoever bathes in the Rewati fountain will be beloved by her lord and have a numerous progeny."

On the above I may perhaps be permitted to remark that I think Tod's account is somewhat vague and confused. Môrakûro is rather more than half a mile, and more to the south-east than east from Bijôli. With regard to the remains of a "kote, or castle," and "a palace called the No-choki" there are some slight remains of some kind of fortified enclosure; but I do not know of any palace, whatever, called the No-choki with the exception of an old, but rather small palatial sort of building, or mahal, in a garden, about half a mile to the south-east of Bijôli, and in which I took refuge and lived during two days of very heavy rain, which prevented me from going out. With regard to the "five temples to Pârşwanâth, all I can say is that there is only one really large Jain temple, especially dedicated to Pârşwanâth; although, as I stated previously there are several other minor shrines. Moreover, as I also previously remarked, the architectural details of the chief Jain temple to Pârşwanâth are anything but elaborate; at least, the whole style of the building is very much inferior, indeed, to that of the three Brahmanical temples nearer Bijôli.

Next, with regard to the "two inscriptions cut in the rock," noticed by Tod, when I visited Bijôli, I had not got Tod's *Rajasthan* with me; and I had not seen his work for several years; and therefore I was not aware of what he said about the inscriptions at Bijôli. But all I can say is, that I did not find any inscription on the rock, with the exception of an inscription, already previously noticed by me, which I found on a flat slab of rock, on the ground, between two of the Brahmanical temples; and of which I took an impression; but which appeared to me not to have any date, and to consist mainly of slokas of poetry. I should, however, mention that during the five days which I spent at Bijôli I was prevented from going out for two whole days by very heavy rain; and therefore it is possible that the "rocks bearing two inscriptions," which were so vaguely mentioned by Tod, may have been in some spot which I was prevented by the rain from visiting.

The kûnd near the Brahmanical temples was called the *Mandâgni-ka-kûnd* by the people at Bijôli. The inscription

which I found at this kûnd has already been described. I will now proceed to give a particular description of the three principal Brahmanical temples at Bijôli.

1.—*Hazarisar Mandar.*

This temple consists simply of a sanctum and sikar, with a very small portico. The sikar of this temple is the highest and most pleasing and elegant of any of the Bijôli temples, it being, I should say, about 55 feet in height. But it wants both the commanding height and the imposing appearance of the sikar of the temple at Thoda, which is 97 feet in height. The portico has four pillars. The front pair of pillars of the portico are pretty lofty; the bases are square, and the lower third of the shafts are also square, with human figures sculptured on each face: one large figure on each side of the square part of the shaft, and smaller ones on the bases. The upper portion of the pillars are round, and ornamentally fluted. The pediment here is low. The back pair of pillars are ten-cornered, squared, and have the bell ornament sculptured on them. The roof of the portico is formed after the Hindu cross-stepped slab fashion, interiorly, as the ancient Hindu low flattened dome is usually formed. The exterior upper surface of the portico is flat.

The door-way has projecting pilasters, or squared half pillars, on each side of the jambs, right and left. Each of these pilasters have four female figures sculptured on the lower part of them; the middle one, or second from the right and left, supporting a slender circular column or shaft, attached at back to the pilaster, and which shaft has a square capital midway, or half-way up, shaped like a small square Corinthian capital, with a lip-shaped leaf ornament overlapping downwards from each corner of it, very much like an imitation of the acanthus leaf; then the shaft is carried on again, upwards to the ceiling of the porch, and is surmounted by another smaller capital, somewhat similar to the last described. The door-step has a circular projection in front, ornamentally sculptured.

The sanctum of the temple contains a large lingam, of considerable height, the whole sides of which are pitted with little niches carved into it. The sides of the front projection of the temple, which unites with the portico, have a large canopied projecting niche half-way up on each side exteriorly, each containing a full-length figure of a divinity;

that on the right side containing a figure apparently of Narayan, and the one on the left side containing a doubtful figure.

The base of the sikar exteriorly is ornamented with figures in shallow, oval-shaped, or medallion-shaped niches. The face of the middle upper portion of the sides of the sikar, is ornamentally varied with sculptured pilaster-shaped projections, which are ten-cornered. The upper portion of the sikar is shaped like a conical spire, with pinnaclette projections at sides.—*2*.

Temple of Mahânkâl and Bijnâth.

This temple contains a grand, domed, central hall, or vestibule, and two side shrines, and a small side chamber, as well as a small upper chamber over the last; the two shrines being each surmounted by a separate sikar, or spire, while the small side chamber is surmounted by a pointed dome, and the great central hall is covered in by a low, somewhat flattened rounded dome; so that this is, in reality, a large building containing two temples under one roof, as well as the great central hall, and two small side chambers, one above the other; and it is surmounted by two sikars and two domes.

This temple also has a very fine entrance portico, containing four pillars, on the west side. The sides of the portico are raised upon a sort of pedimental half wall, on each side, which is nearly 7 feet high, and on which the bases of the four pillars rest. The exterior sides of these two pedimental half walls are beautifully sculptured in panels, each panel containing a human figure, the human figures being those of both men and women, erect, half naked, and in all kinds of postures, some playing on instruments, some dancing, and some in an attitude of worship or adoration. There are also two small, pillared niche projections from each side of the raised pediment (two on each side), each side containing the figures of a divinity. The front pair of pillars of the porch have octagonal shafts, short and thick; the central portion of each pillar having human figures of divinities, and others, in various attitudes, sculptured on each face. The shafts of these pillars are older than the temple, and of a reddish colour, different from the stone of the more modern capitals and bases. The back pair of pillars of the porch are in the form of three quarter pillars, or pilasters, against the backing wall of the front of the body of the temple. These

pillars are of a squared shape, for about two-thirds of their height upwards; the squared corners being worked into beautiful open-work carving, between which, on each face, there is the standing figure of a divinity in a shallow canopied niche. The upper thirds of these pillars are of an octagonal shape, forming a sort of octagonal neck under the capital. Here again the shafts of these pilasters, or three quarter pillars, appear to be older than either their capitals or bases, or than the temple itself, and of a stone of a different colour. At the back of these, inside the porch, in the sides of the door-way entrance, there are fine old, richly sculptured, many-cornered pillars, sunk into the wall, one on each side. On the front of the pediment, under and in front of each front pillar of the porch, there is a large projecting canopied niche, each containing the erect figure of a divinity, almost of life size, one of Ganesh and the other of Siva.

The side walls of the door-way passage are plain interiorly; but in this door-way passage, which is very wide, there are placed at each side sculptured stones more ancient than the temple. These consist (the same nearly on each side), *first*, of a portion of an ancient pediment, or basal stone, of some kind with much worn, but richly carved, sides, the carvings consisting of figures. On the top of this there is placed, against the wall, a large three-headed bust figure of the Trimurti, twice the size of life. There is the same on the other side, but with the addition of several other ancient remains, fragments of sculptures more ancient than the temples. These latter consist of: 1, three smaller heads, conjoined, life-size, broken off at neck, and side heads much defaced; 2, A full-length figure, a three-headed female divinity, about one-third the size of life, sculptured, in bold relief, on a slab of stone which is leaning against the wall; 3, a very remarkable head and bust, life-size, probably of Brahma, but more like an Egyptian or Ninevite sculpture than anything else. The chin is bearded below, the beard depending from below the bare chin, in a formal shape like that of a tongue, and sculptured across with pleats in horizontal parallel lines, exactly like the beards represented on the sculptures of human figures from Nineveh. The form of the head-dress is entirely Egyptian, and also somewhat like a peculiar kind of head-dress worn by women in a particular part of Italy. The head-dress consists of the sculptured representation of a narrow band of ornamented

cloth, folded across diagonally, like a flattened letter X, and lying flat on the top of the head, the turn of the fold of the cloth, on each side, taking a loop-formed shape, on each side, over the temples. From the back of this head-dress, drapery descends, and hangs down at the back of the neck very much like the drapery depending from the head-dress of an Egyptian sphinx. The hair under the head-dress is divided in the middle, and has a wavy, almost woolly, appearance. The face is placid, and more Buddhist or Egyptian looking than Hindu Brachmanical. There is a moustache on the upper lip;[1] 4, there is a large squared stone, higher than broad, built upright into the wall of the right side of the doorway entrance, which I discovered was richly sculptured, in a floral pattern, on one of its faces, which is turned sideways into the wall by the stone having been built into the wall in that position, and the sculpture would not have been discovered if the stone had not projected slightly beyond the surface of the rest of the wall in order to support some upper work. This stone, from the nature of the sculpture on the half-concealed side, must evidently have formed a portion of the ceiling of some much older temple. It has a short modern inscription scratched on the upper part of the outer side. The corresponding projection on the other or opposite side of the door-way entrance is composed of a plain rough stone, evidently modern, with a continuation above composed of fragments and mortar. The front of the broad step of the floor of the entrance is sculptured in the form of a device shaped like a horizontal, or recumbent, festoon, with sankh shells for pendants.

This portico and entrance-way lead into a grand square chamber, the walls of which interiorly are surmounted by an octagonal cornice, and this last again surmounted by a grand dome. The dome is constructed, interiorly, more after the Muhammadam fashion than the old conventional Hindu cross-step mode of construction; for this dome is composed of slightly curved stones, laid one over the other in a smooth, inwardly curving, slope upwards. In the centre of this chamber there is an enormous stone bull, about 6 feet in length, and about 4 feet in height. The front portion of this huge sculpture has never been finished; and yet it is evidently of very great age, older than the temple in which it now stands. From the right side of this grand

[1] This head is most decidedly not like anything Indian that I have ever seen. Could it possibly have been of Indo-Scythic (or Arsakidán) design executed by a Greek workman?

chamber, a door-way leads into the shrine of Bijnâth; and from the further or inner side of the chamber, immediately opposite to the entrance, a door-way leads into the shrine of Mahân Kâl." The jambs of the door-way of the shrine of Bijnâth are richly carved, but appear to be of greater age than the temple into which they have been built. The shrine is a small square chamber, containing only a small lingam. The floor of the door step of this shrine is ornamented with the festoon and sankh pendants. This shrine is surmounted, exteriorly, by a grand sikar of a conical shape, somewhat truncated at top, or like a truncated cone; and the upper part of the exterior is adorned at the sides with pinnaclettes and projections.

The shrine of Mahân Kâl has a grand door-way, the forward projection of which, on each side, is faced with six-cornered pilasters, or half-pillars, highly sculptured, on their lower portion, with figures of divinities, and the upper portion, with representations of bells pendant from chains, divided by horizontal bands of sculpture. The lower portion of the jambs of the door-way, have the sculpture of three images, or erect human figures, on each side, one large and two smaller. The sculpture on the upper portion of the jambs is of a plainer, more unpretending kind. The floor of the doorway is ornamented, as usual, with the festoon and sankh device. The door step has a semi-circular projection, with a lion's head on each side. This shrine contains only a small lingam; but there is built into the inner side of the back wall of this chamber an ancient sculpture, in bas-relief, representing Siva, or Indra, with his trident sceptre, stepping on to his vahan, which is here represented as a chariot drawn by a lion. This sculpture is more ancient than the shrine into the wall of which it is now built. This shrine is surmounted, exteriorly, by a grand sikar, somewhat higher, and larger generally, than the sikar of the other shrine, but the lines of the exterior are less sloping or more nearly approach the perpendicular, giving it, at a distance, a stiffer and straighter appearance, and the top is more truncated.

From the left-hand side of the great central domed chamber, a low narrow doorway leads into a small, dark, square chamber; and, immediately to the left of this, there is a flight of steps leading down to a well, which is below the floor of the temple towards the north side. The steps leading down to this well are covered over by an erection of masonry, very much like, in shape, to the wooden erection

which covers over the steps, or gangway, leading down into a cabin in a ship; and on the top of this erection there is another flight of steps leading up into a small upper chamber, in which there are some fine carved pendant-shaped brackets, one in each corner, depending from the low ceiling, but these bracket pendants in reality belong to, and form part of, enormous ancient bracket capitals of pillars, some of which are built into the masonry of the wall plates of outer wall of the body of the building, while others are three-fourths hidden in the masonry of the octagonal cornice which supports the dome of the great central chamber, so that a bracket and pendant projects from each of the eight interior receding angles of the octagon; for here, these imbedded capitals show only one bracket and one pendant protruding. But the wall immediately under the octagonal cornice is here pierced, or broken through, at this side, by the door-way which leads into this small upper chamber; so that here, on one side of the door, one of these enormous bracket capitals is exposed in full and entire, resting on the top of one of the more modern shallow pilaster-shaped projections, which run up the wall of the central chamber, and serve to support, or, at least run up to, the octagonal cornice on which the dome rests; but the old capitals do not fit these modern pilasters! The huge bracket capitals have sometimes four brackets, and sometimes a subsidiary fifth bracket. On the lower face of each of the four brackets there is a human figure, with four arms spread out. Here also, in this chamber, there is some finely carved ancient cornice work. The outer wall of this upper chamber is pierced by stone lattice work which lets the light in, and through which one can look out. This upper chamber is surmounted exteriorly by a somewhat pyramidal-shaped sikar, much lower than the rest.

The general exterior of this temple, though diversified in its outline by somewhat bulkily sculptured projections of all shapes, and angles of all sizes, yet cannot be said to be richly ornamented, indeed not nearly so much so as many other temples in different parts of India. The richest sculpture is seen in the more ancient portions and fragments found built in with or into this comparatively modern, or at least middle-aged temple.

The two exterior corners of the front projection of this temple, at the back and on either side of the portico, are each surmounted at top by spire-shaped pinnacles, formed after

the fashion of miniature sikars. Similar small pinnacle occur again on the top of the building between the two large sikars.

3.—Temple of Oudeswar.

This is a large temple, composed of the following parts:— a large pillared vestibule, open at three sides, with a pillared porch projecting from each of these three sides; only the front one of these projections, however, being the real porch, the others being without steps, and not accessible. The centre of the vestibule is surmounted by a one-third spherical, or nearly hemispherical dome, in the centre of which there is a smaller dome hollowed out, resting on four pillars; and each porch is surmounted by a small cupola, which has a domed top resting on four slender pillars on a square base. *2nd*, an inner shrine surmounted by a sikar, which has four convexly curved sides, the curves of which slope upwardly inwards, the curves of the sides of this sikar being of the parabolic kind. The four curved sides have receding angles between them, thus forming eight projecting corners instead of four, and with four receding corners, besides numerous smaller angles.

The exterior of this temple is profusely and elaborately ornamented with sculpture, which consist in part of representations of figures and subjects of a somewhat obscene nature. These, however, are principally confined to the lower portion of the exterior of the sikar. The open pillared vestibule and porticoes are raised upon a high plinth and pediment, the sides of which are ornamented with various and elaborate sculptures, mostly projecting figures of divinities, &c., with panels and bands of smaller sculptures interspersed between. The base of this part of the building, exteriorly, rises from the ground, step-like, for a short distance, by successive narrow sculptured gradations, until it is surmounted by the straight sides of the plinth, with its sculptured panels.

The pillars of the porticoes, and of the sides of the vestibule, are very short, and the lower half, or two-thirds, of the shafts are squared, while their upper halves are round. The shafts of these pillars are, however, richly sculptured; but their capitals are quite plain and circular, almost like the capital of a plain Doric pillar.

The roof of the vestibule is supported on twelve pillars; the four corner ones of which serve to support the great outer hemispherical dome. The smaller inner dome of the centre of the vestibule is supported by four, rather more lofty, inner pillars, about 6 feet 6 inches in height. These

four inner pillars have square bases, on each of the four faces of which there is a small female figure sculptured in a sitting position. The lower portion of the shaft is also square, up to the height of about 2 feet, each face having an erect human figure sculptured on it, two of them being male, and two female. The female figures appear to be in the attitude of dancing. Above, the shaft is octagonal, to the height of about 1 foot 6 inches. The remaining upper portion of the shaft, which is about 1 foot 10 inches more, is circular, but has an octagonal band ornamented with lions' heads encircling it about midway. The shafts are surmounted by bracket capitals, richly sculptured. But the height of the pillars does not terminate with these bracket capitals, for they support the bases of smaller shafts on their tops; which secondary upper shafts rise to the height of about 4 feet more. The lower portion of these upper shafts is square, and the upper portion circular. These last are surmounted by plain bracket capitals, on the tops of which, beautifully sculptured architraves rest, which run from the top of one pillar to the top of another, thus forming a square of architraves, on which the edge of the smaller inner dome rests, where it unites with larger dome. I have said that the lower compartments of these pillars have large, beautifully sculptured bracket capitals, which support smaller upper shafts on their tops; but I have to add that, from one of the four brackets of each pillar, *i. e.*, from that one which is opposite to the next pillar, a triple flying arch, or narrow triple-arched stone, springs, the opposite end of which rests on the corresponding bracket of the opposite pillar; and so on, between each of the four pillars. These triple arches have pendant keystones in the centre of each arch. They thus somewhat resemble a Saracenic flying arch Hinduised.

At each side of the doorway of the sanctum there are pilasters, one on each side, on the front face of the base, or rather lower part of each of which there is the figure of a four-armed divinity sculptured. The upper portion of these pilasters is ornamented with plain horizontal and diagonal bands. On the lower portion of the jambs of the doorway there are dancing female figures sculptured, four on each side. The upper portions of the jambs are elaborately ornamented with floral sculpture. The interior of the sanctum is plain; but one has to descend into it, down a flight of nine steps, it being at a much lower level

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than the rest of the temple. The sanctum contains only a small lingam.

There is a globular-shaped carved stone, with neck to it, which looks like the capital of a lât, lying on the ground, to the right-hand side of the steps of the front porch of the vestibule. It is 2 feet 8 inches in length, by 2 feet 2 inches in breadth.

The conclusion that I deduce from certain prominent circumstantial facts brought forward in the foregoing minute description of these temples is, that the present Bijôli temples, as they now stand, are of middle age, and of about the date which I have assigned to them; but that they contain, built into the structure of at least two of them, certain fragments of much older temples which preceded them, and which old fragments lay conveniently to hand when the present temples were built; and that the present temples were built on the sites of these more ancient temples. Consequently, Bijôli itself must be a much older inhabited site than it would at first sight appear to be, and must date as such from some period long prior to the first ancestor of its present Pramara masters, or even to the Sisodia Ranas of Chitor, who are said to have given the place to them.

The Bijôli temples are built, apparently, of a white and red close-grained, calciferous sandstone: at least I think it is calciferous sandstone, that is, a kind of close-grained sandstone impregnated with calcareous matter, and partaking of the proper ties and characteristics of both sandstone and limestone, and forming a sort of intermediate link between the two. But the only other place in which I have ever seen calciferous sandstone was in a particular part of Western Canada in America; so that I cannot be altogether sure that my judgment as to the nature of the stone is quite correct. All I can say is, that it could not correctly be called either sandstone or limestone in a literal or definite sense, the composition of the stone not being pure. This stone is found cropping out of the ground in the immediate neighbourhood; and enormous blocks and slabs of it, of great length and width, may be obtained *in situ* in a horizontal position. The whitish coloured stone is evidently the best, the reddish coloured is somewhat impregnated with iron.

At Bijôli I searched everywhere for an ancient inscription mentioned by Tod, but without being able to find it. By

Tod's account it must have been a very ancient inscription, as he speaks of the characters in which it was written as having yet to be "mastered!" He says, "Let us master the characters on the columns of Indrapreshta, Prayag, and Mewar, on the rocks of Junagarh, at Bijôli on the Aravalis, and in the Jain temples scattered over India, and then we shall be able to arrive at just and satisfactory conclusions." I searched in the temples myself for this inscription, and had every other likely place searched, but without being able to find any ancient inscription, or any other inscription, except the four which I have already mentioned in the early portion of this report, namely, one on the pavement between two of the temples, and another on the wall of the Mandagni tank, and the two sati inscriptions near the Jain temples. But, as I stated before, when I was at Bijôli, the principal Jain temple was locked up and could not be got into; and as this building appeared to be more modern than the Brahmanical temples, I did not think it was likely to contain any very ancient inscription. Nevertheless, I may state that while I was on my way to Chitor, a Jain informed me that there was a very ancient inscription at Bijôli.

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MANDOL.

MANDOL, referred to in my report on Bijôli, is the name of a small village, situated on the side of a wild, rocky, forest-covered hill, at the southern entrance of the Pass of Mandol, and about two miles to the north-east of Bijôli. On the top of this hill, above the present village, there is the ruined site of an ancient village, or small town, which once belonged to the Meenas, called Jûna Mandols, which is partly surrounded on its southern, south-western and south-eastern sides by a remarkable group of gigantic isolated rocks, standing up perpendicularly in grim and rugged solitude, like the huge ruins of some monstrous giant's castle, and indeed, when seen from a distance, these rocks have exactly the appearance of gigantic ruins.

The ruins of the old Meena village, however, lie in a little way within, or beyond these rocks. Here there are numbers of ruined stone houses.

But to return to the subject of the rocks: one pair of the rocks in particular, which stand close together, one of them sending out, from its top, an overhanging projection towards the other, as if they had once met overhead, are specially worthy of notice, as they have every appearance of having once formed a colossal natural gateway. All the rocks are worn into great horizontal hollows and cavities, on their sides, by the action of water, not by rain, for rain could not produce any such effect, in such a position, but evidently by the beating of the waves and surf of some ancient ocean, at a time when the highest hills and mountains of Râjputâna were islands; and such isolated rocks as these, on the tops of hill ranges of moderate elevation, were little rocky islets and skerries, amidst breakers, just raising their heads above the waves, and sat upon by the seamew and the seal of the newer pliocene, or of the glacial period.

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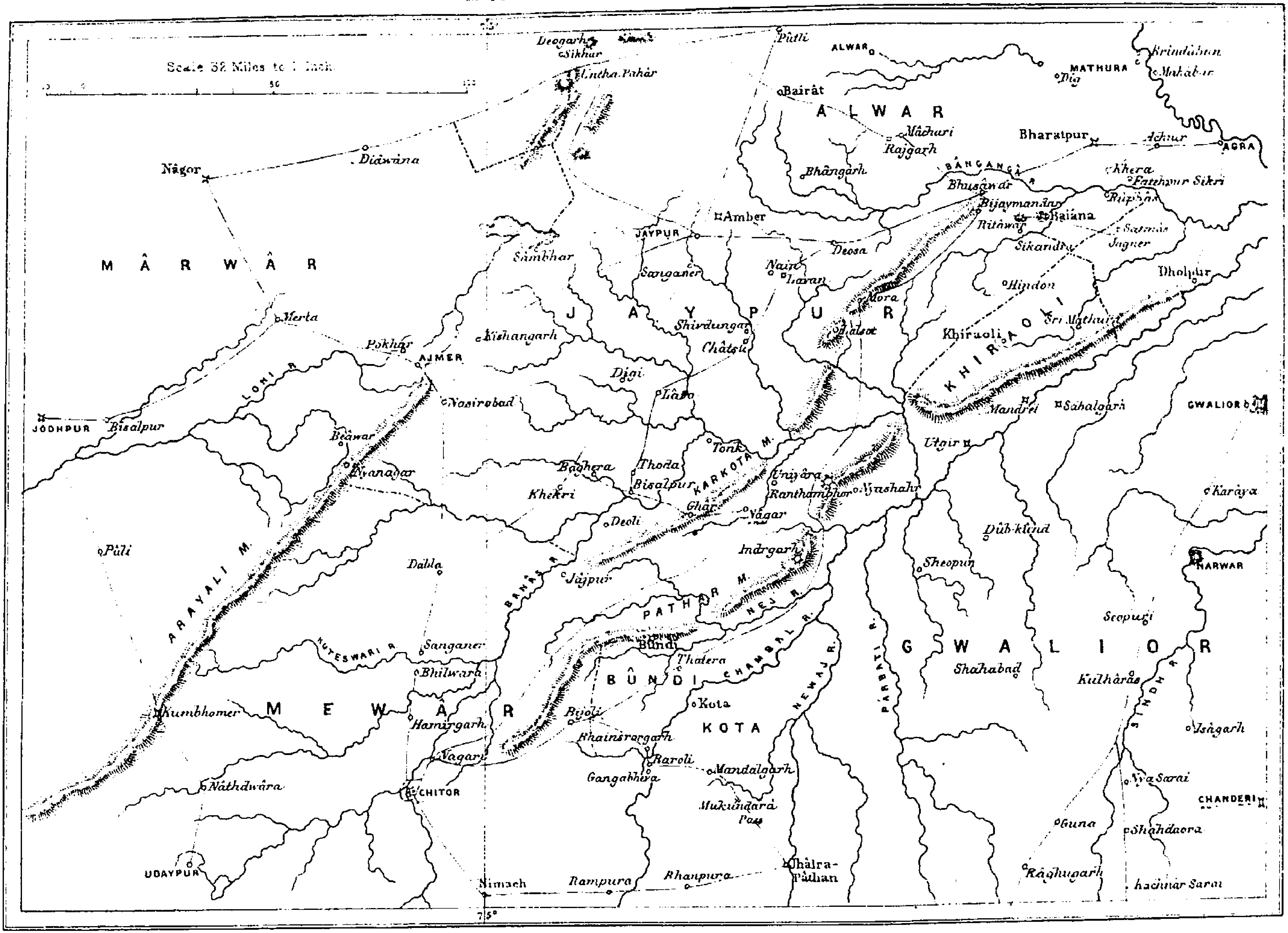
MAP OF EASTERN RAJPUTANA.



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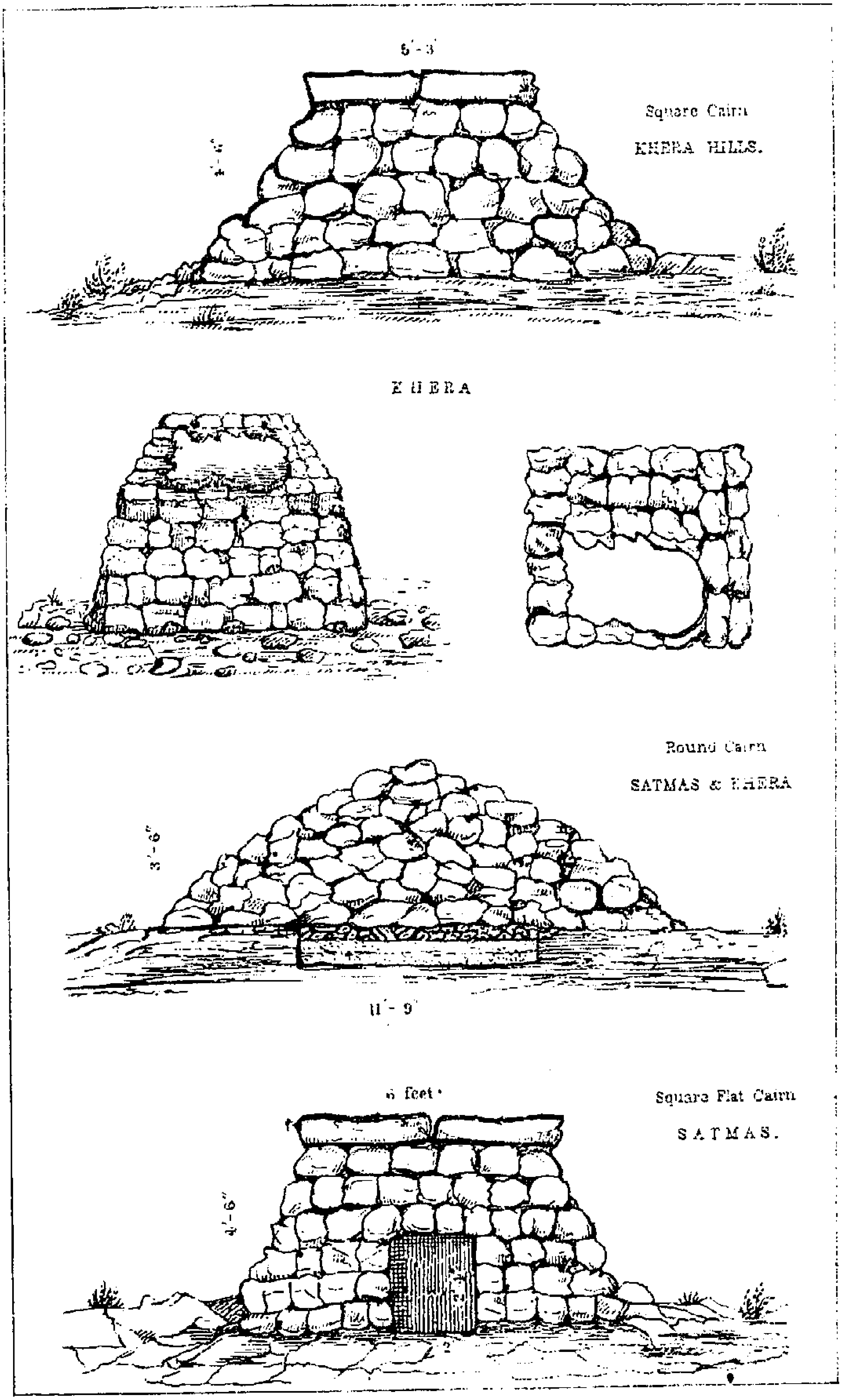

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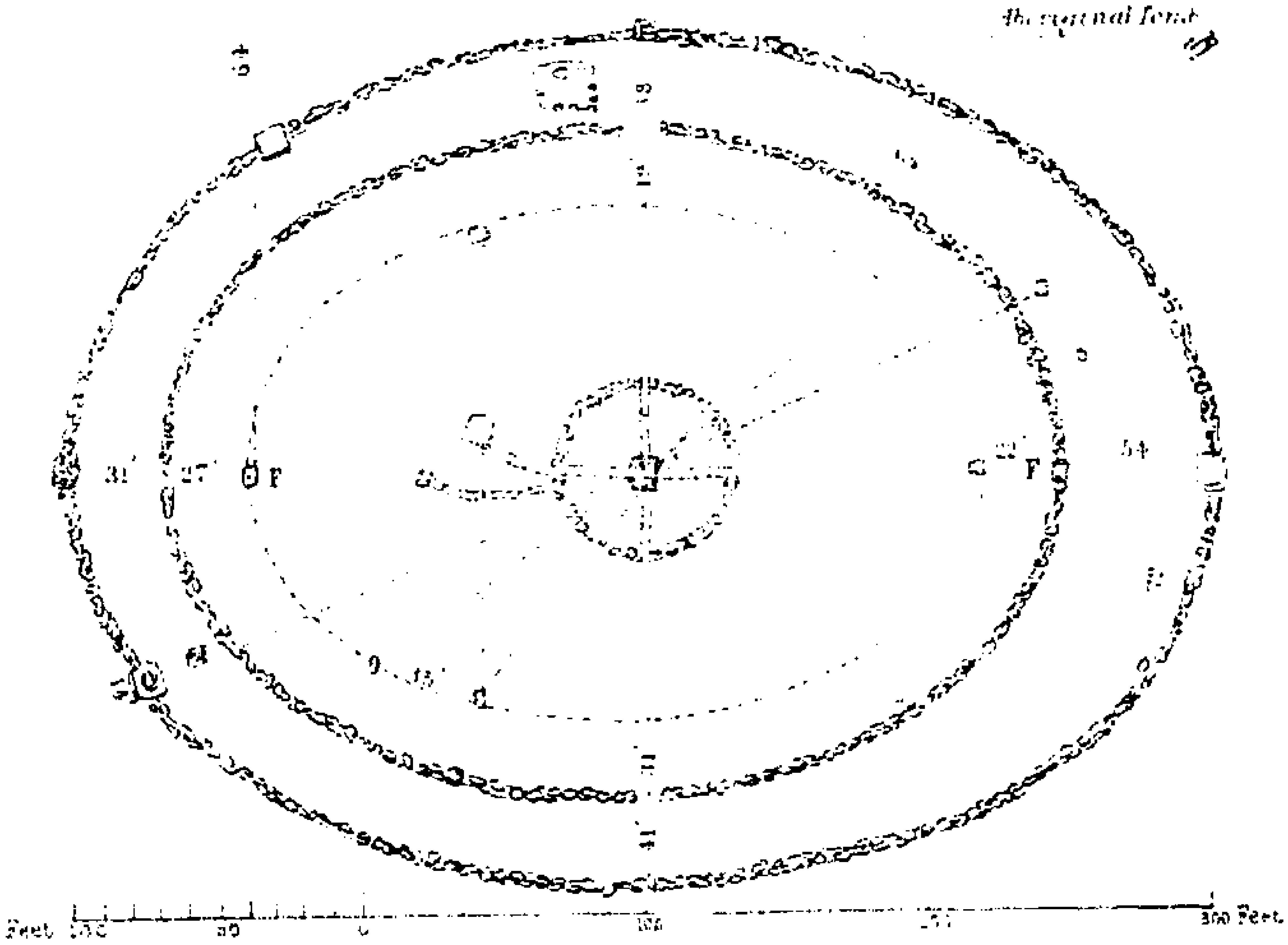
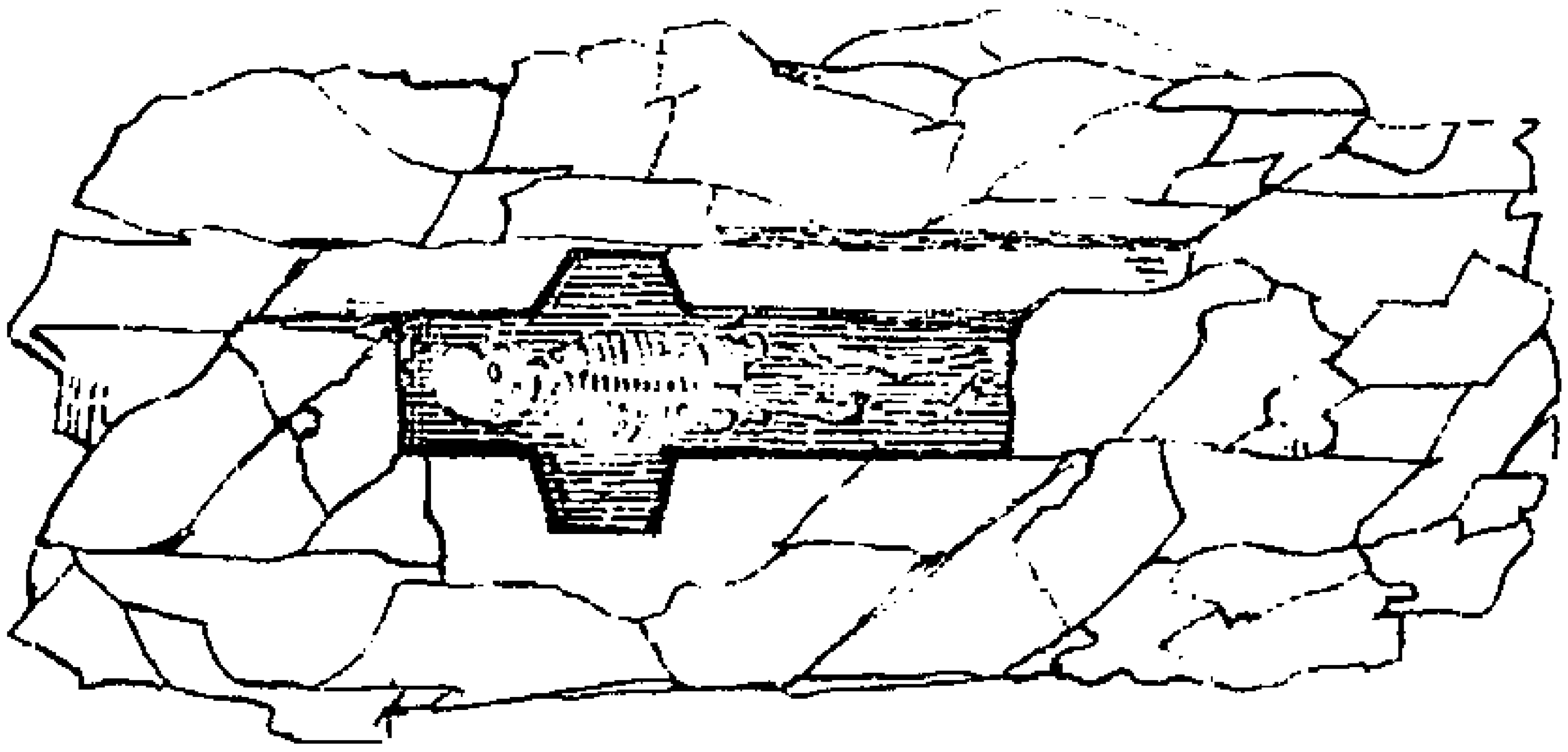
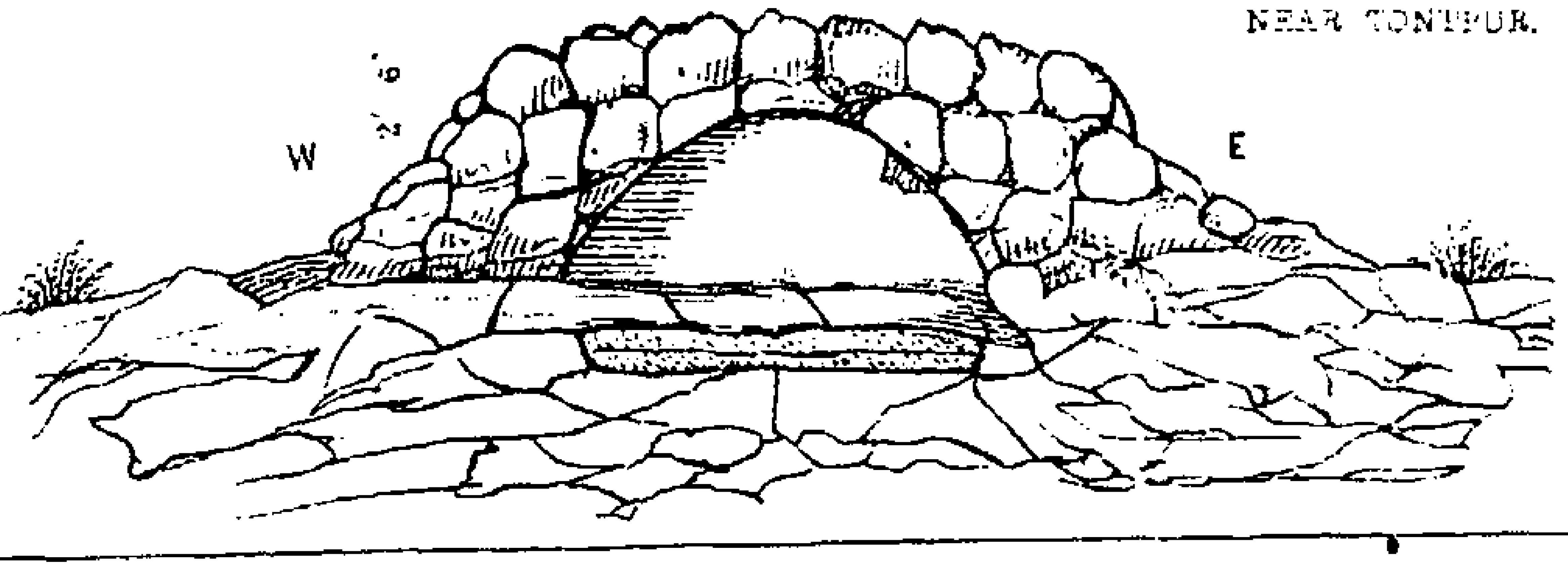




Plan of Aboriginal Tomb.

7 Feet.

Oblong Cairn
NEAR TONTPUR.



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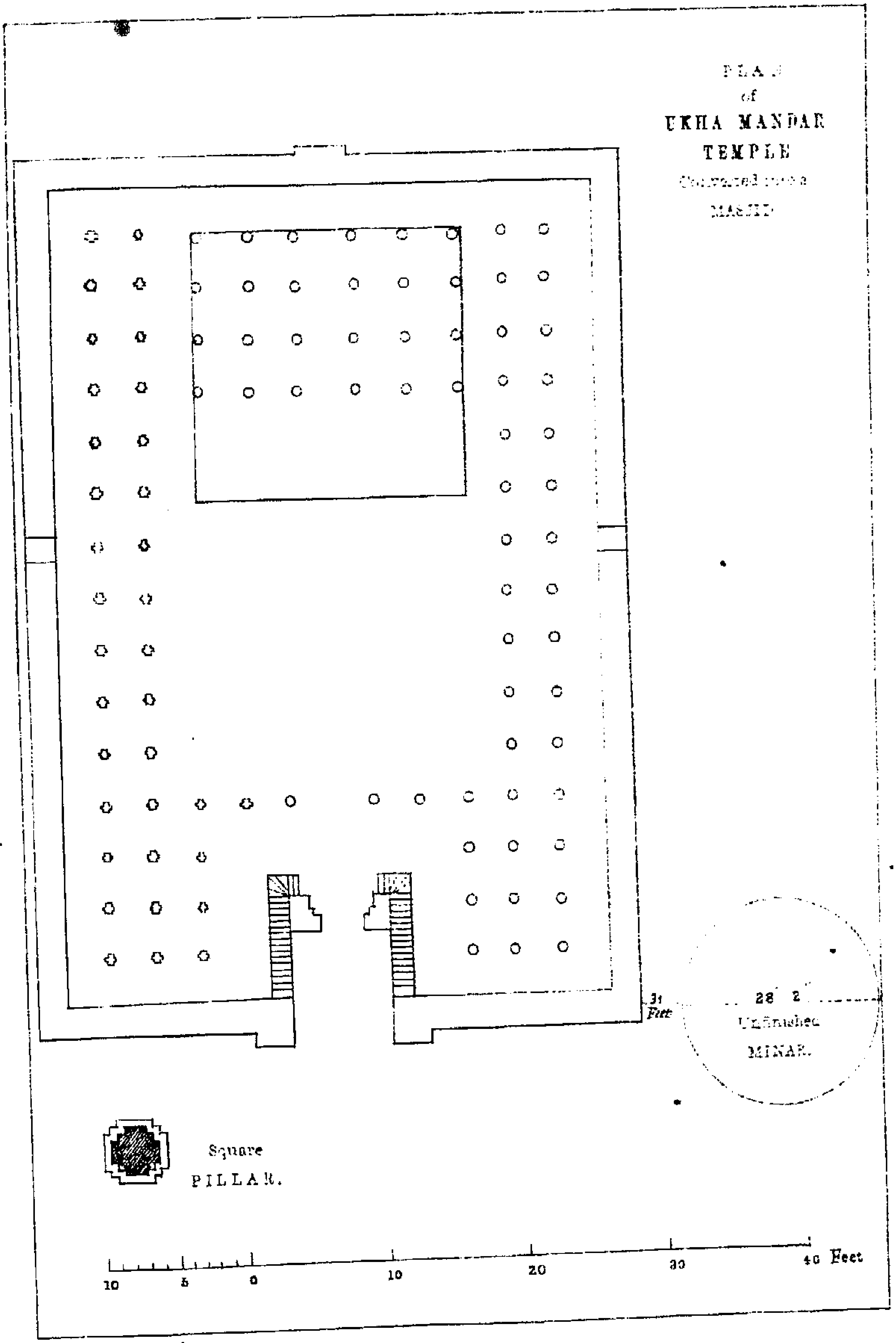
BAIANA. PLATE IV



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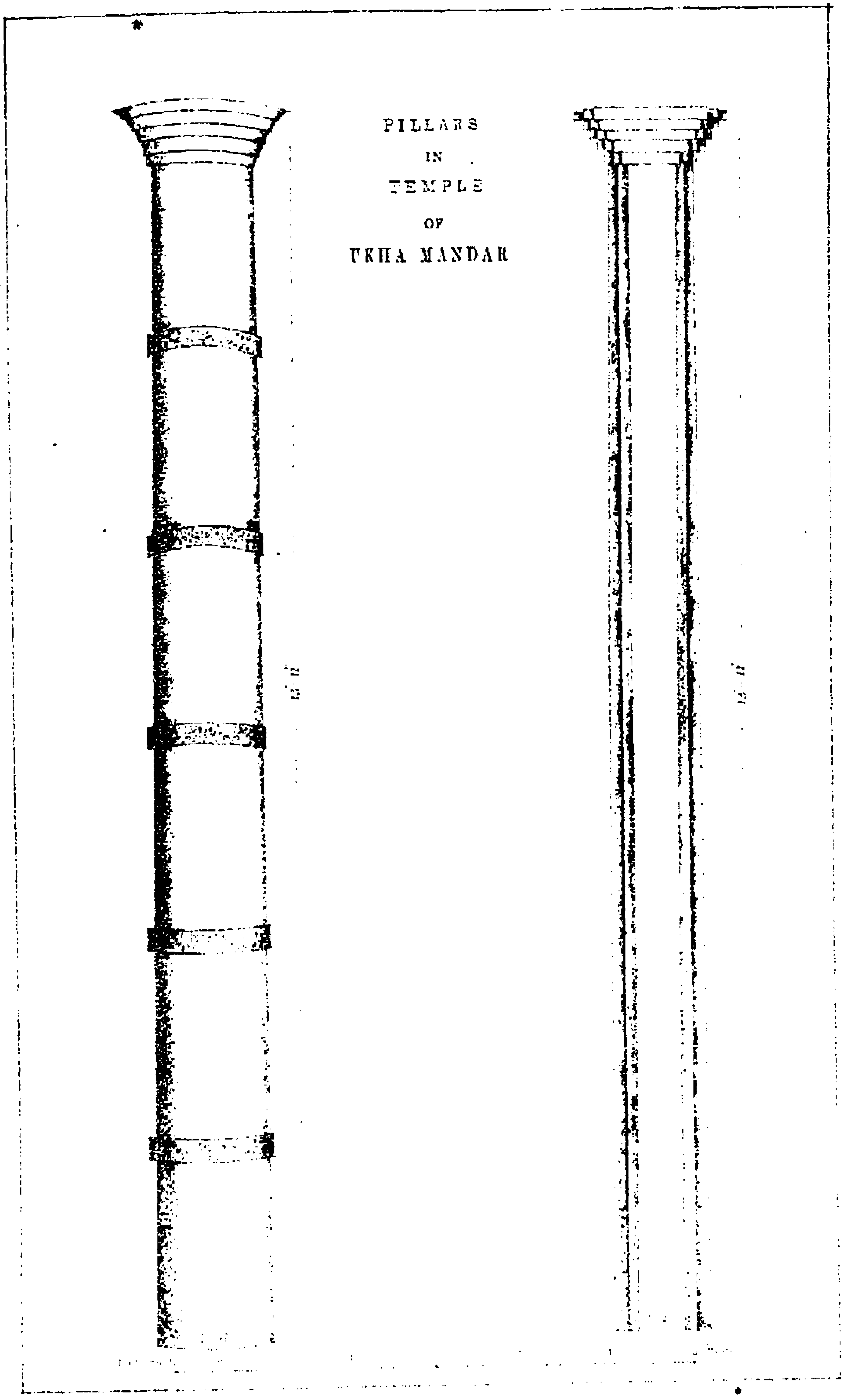
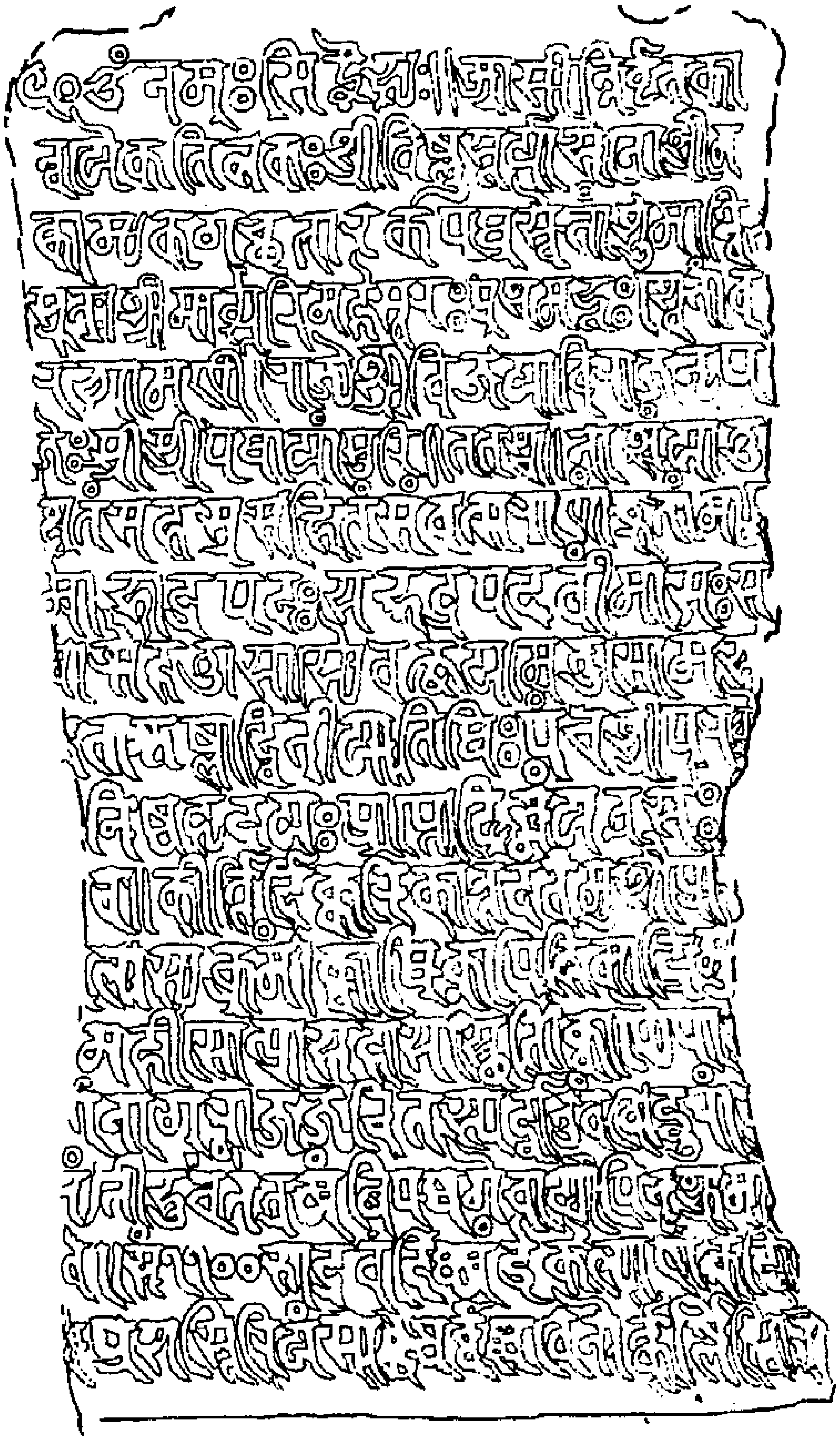

PILLARS
IN
TEMPLE
OF
UKHA MANDAR

INSCRIPTION ON PILLAR OF TEMPLE

IN

MASJID



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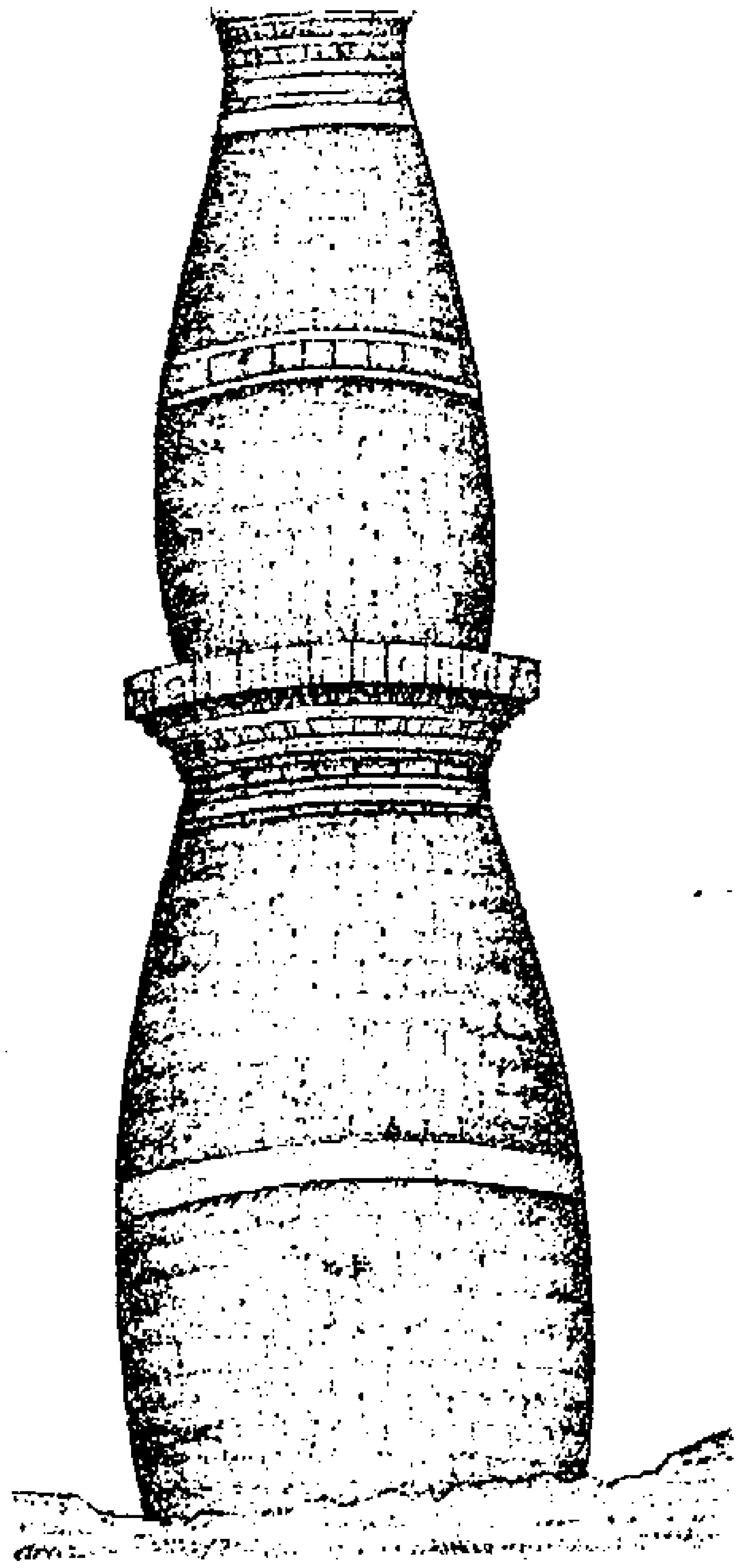
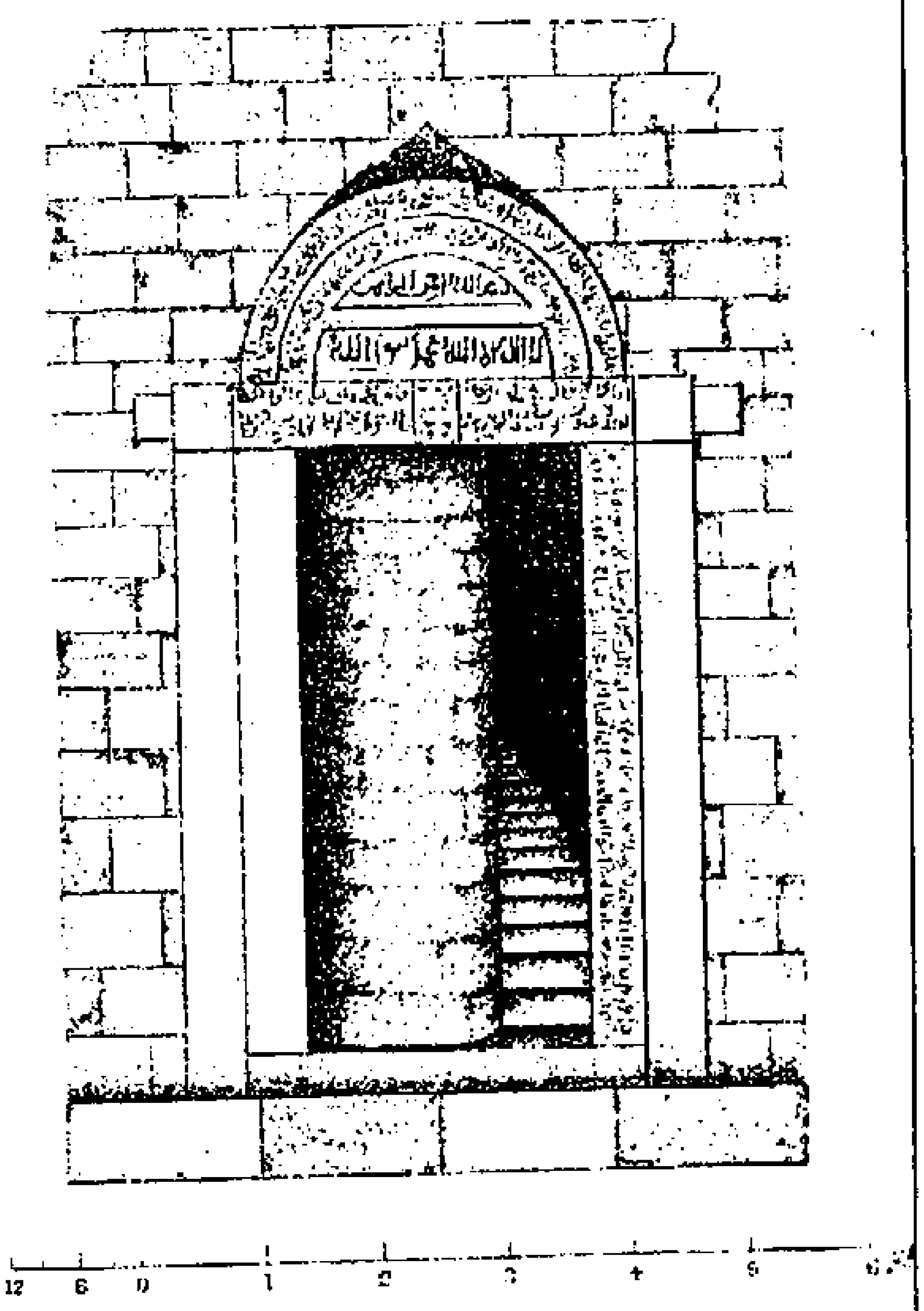
MINAR OF MUHAMMAD SHAH

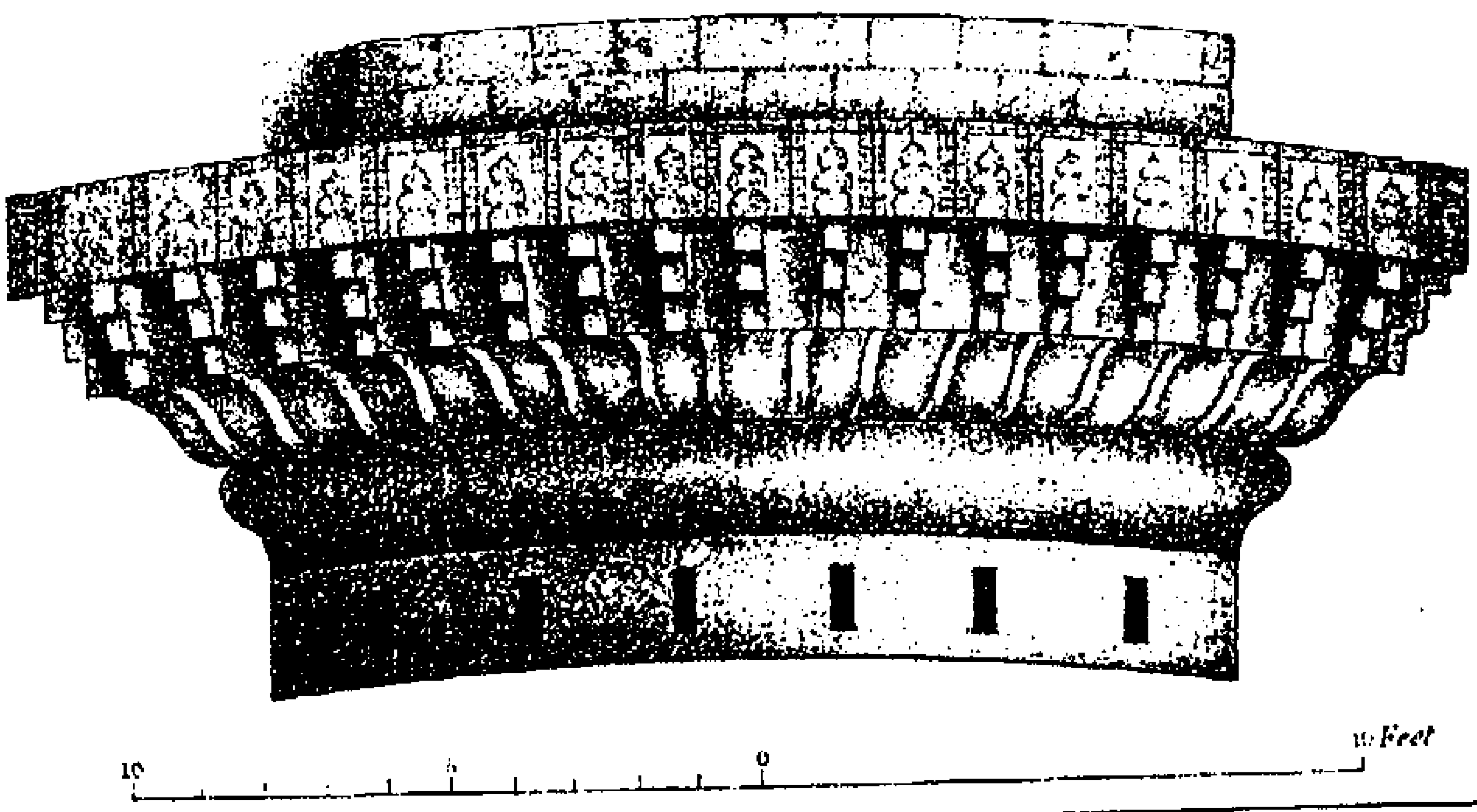
A. D. 1440.



ENTRANCE



FIRST BALCONY



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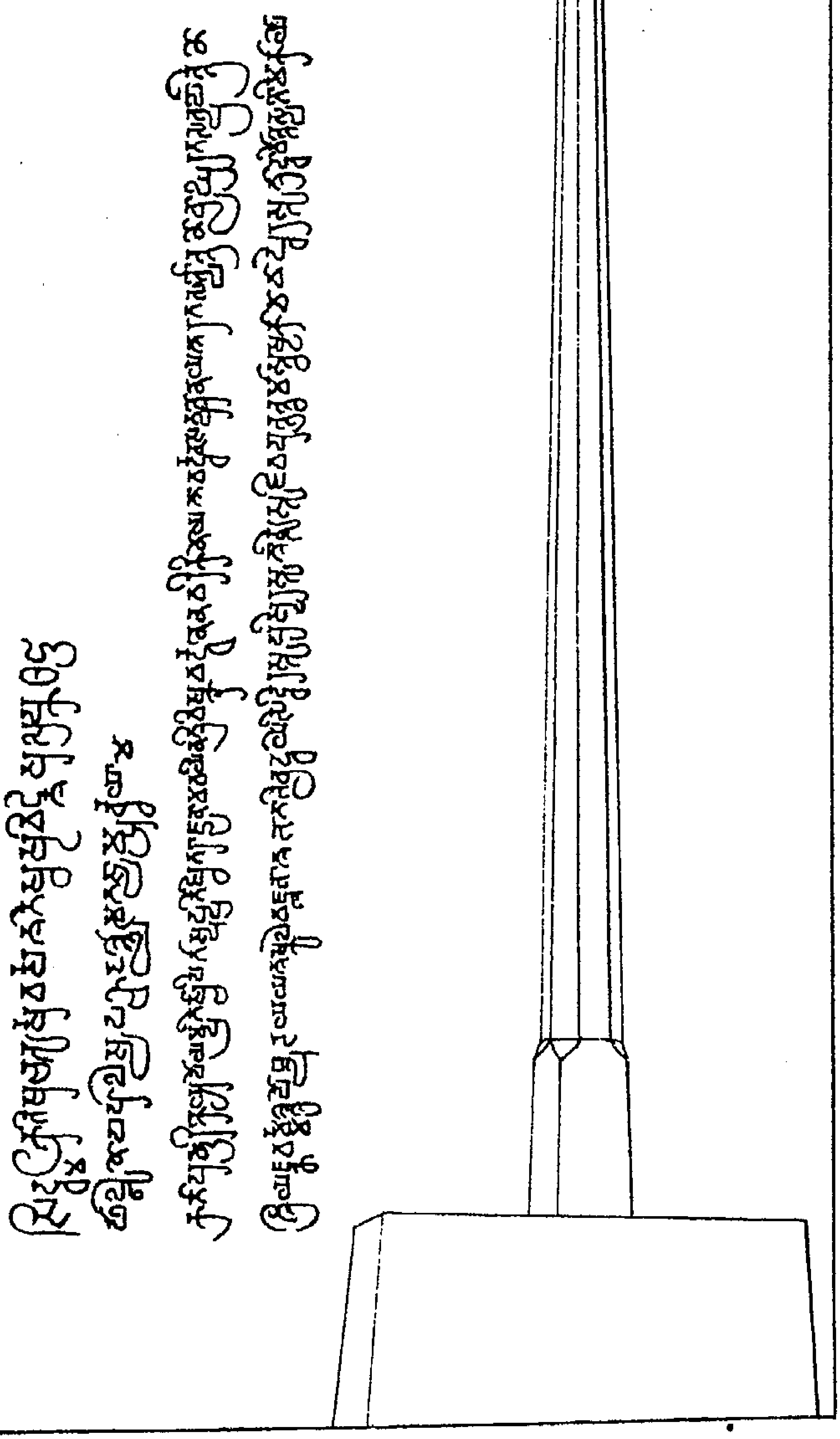
PILLAR
OF
VISHNU-VARDDHANA.



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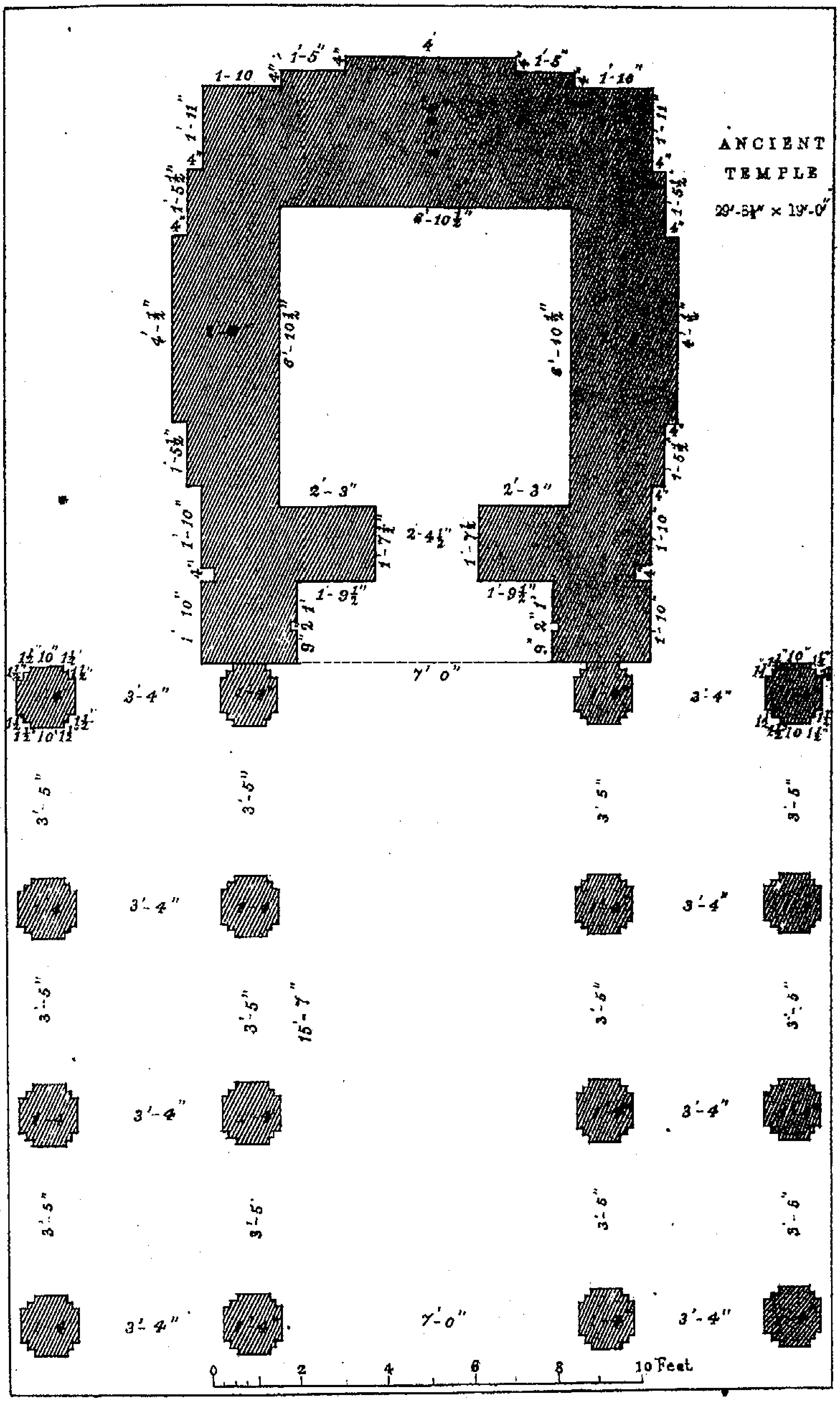

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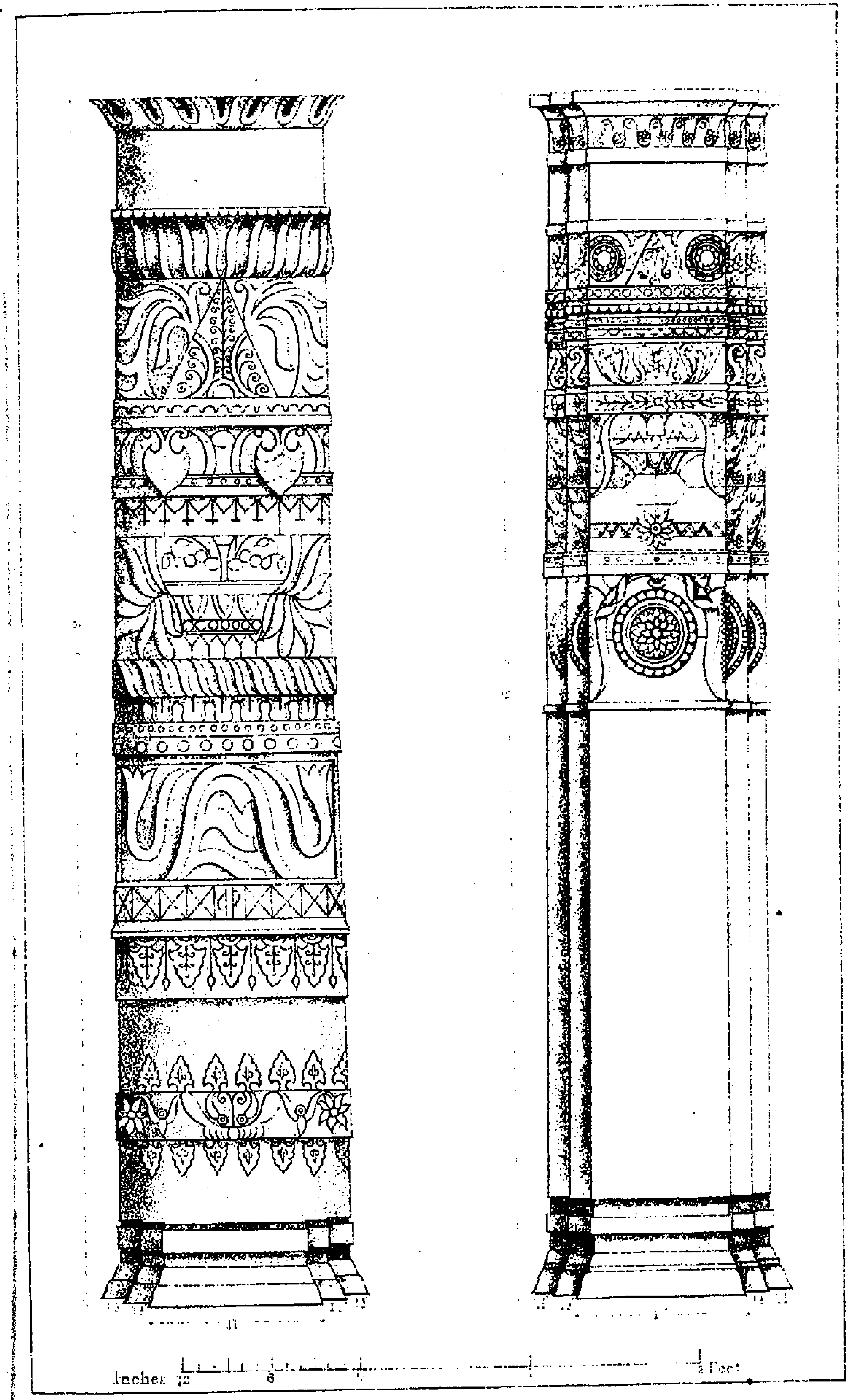

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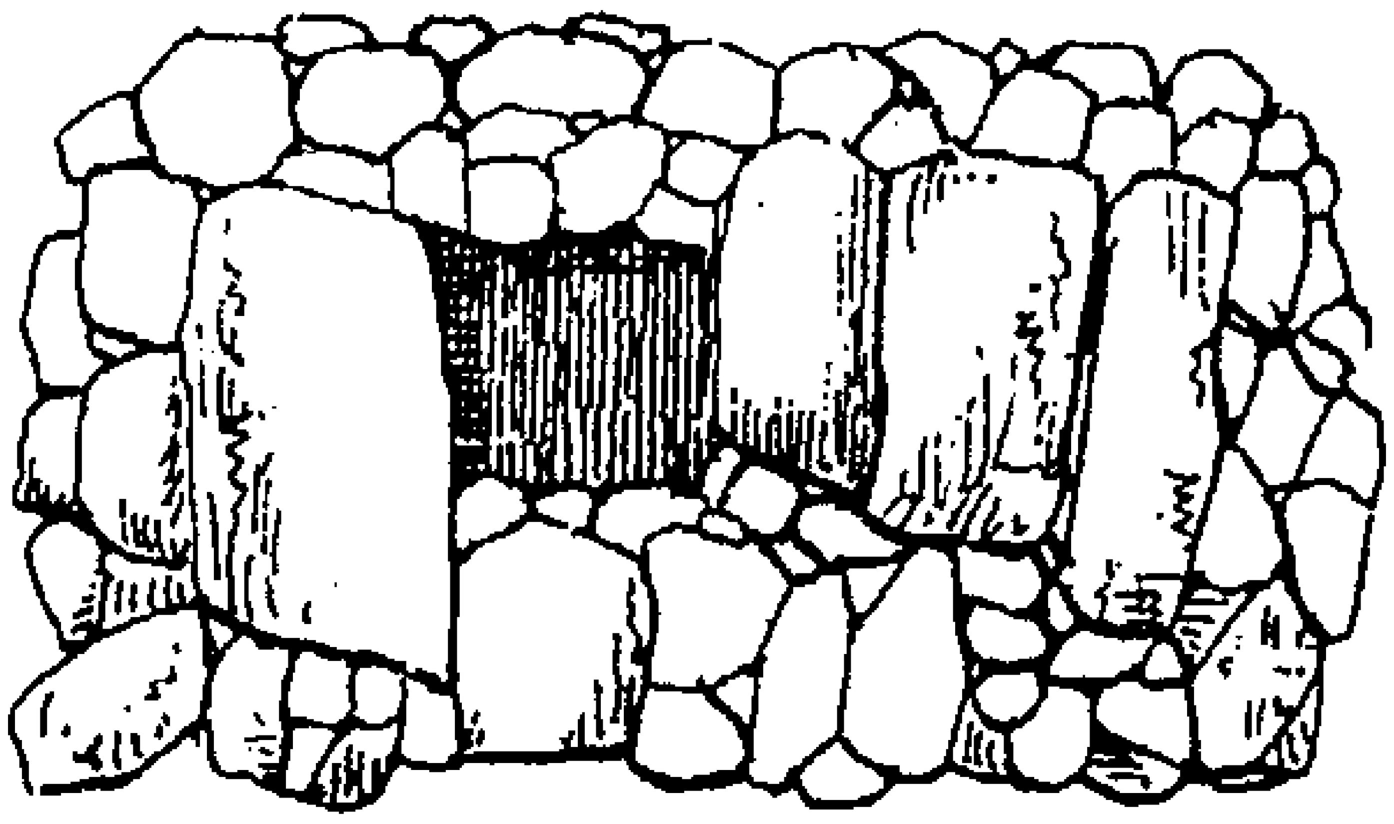
ABORIGINAL TOMB.

15′ x 6′



INSCRIPTION

in Baori Well.

ॐ सिद्धि। प्रा।गणपरिकुलदेव्या प्रसादात् यं ब्रह्म वेदांतविदो वदंति।
परं प्रधानं पुरुषं तथान्ये। विश्वोद्गतेः कारणमीश्वरं वा। तस्मै नमोः
विघ्नविनाशमायाः टोको व्यक्ततमोपमूर्त्ति नमलः श्यांतः शिवो निर्गु
णाय सर्वत्रवनावनेषु रूगतमी अस्तु तात्वामिक विश्वोत्पत्तिपितामह
स्थितिविधोश्री रंषव का कुक्षिकृः आनध्यानसमाधियोग निरतः गम्य
सिद्धपानुवुः १ संवत्सरे स्मिन् श्रीविक्रमादित्य राजो संवत् १४२९ साके १२९४
वर्षे वैसाषसुदि ६२ विदि नो पुष्यनक्षत्रे श्रीसुरत्राणपेरोजसाहि राज्ये
प्रवर्त्तते। मारवाडीवस्थानो वडगूजर वंसे। राजा श्री आसलदेवसुतः।
महाराजाधिराज श्री गोगादेव राज समये॥
आदिस्थान षंडेलानिकासा याउ गंना थ पीपलदेव माता नदव
कुलदेवताया। अलवर उप्राज नाथा मारवाडी वस्थान निवेसनाया
कास्यपगोत्रा या डसान का [illegible] व्योकाया षंडेलवाला न्वै॥ श्री साधु।
वावण सुत दामर। धामा। माना। नतना। नाम्ब वंद।
ज्येष्ठ पुत्र नृका नाम। दाम्बने पुत्र नागदेव। षेमटा। धाना पुत्र सानंग।
[illegible] राजा पुत्र [illegible] ग देवे [illegible] पुत्र कौल पीदा। नाम्रु वंद पुत्र षेम्वसी दा [illegible] तर्षे
पुत्र पौत्र श्री [illegible] वीना [illegible] सा देव पित्रि मनुष्य प्रीत्यर्थे। सुत धानिका नाम। आदि स्त्री छने
णधाद। द [illegible] नउपाड नामा वा [illegible] विास्त [illegible] वकर्स मे राउ रानवेक। पुत्र धानि
सत दक्ष सुत [illegible] न्हे। [illegible] त [illegible] ना। दोला। वापोस्तु तड़ा नैनि पाय तंत वसिला वट ड ण ८
यागस्य द ऊ वती थे [illegible] पवंति पतंत ऽ ना। कौतेऽन कितं प्रन्थं [illegible] सव पकाय रणं तस्तु तमसस०

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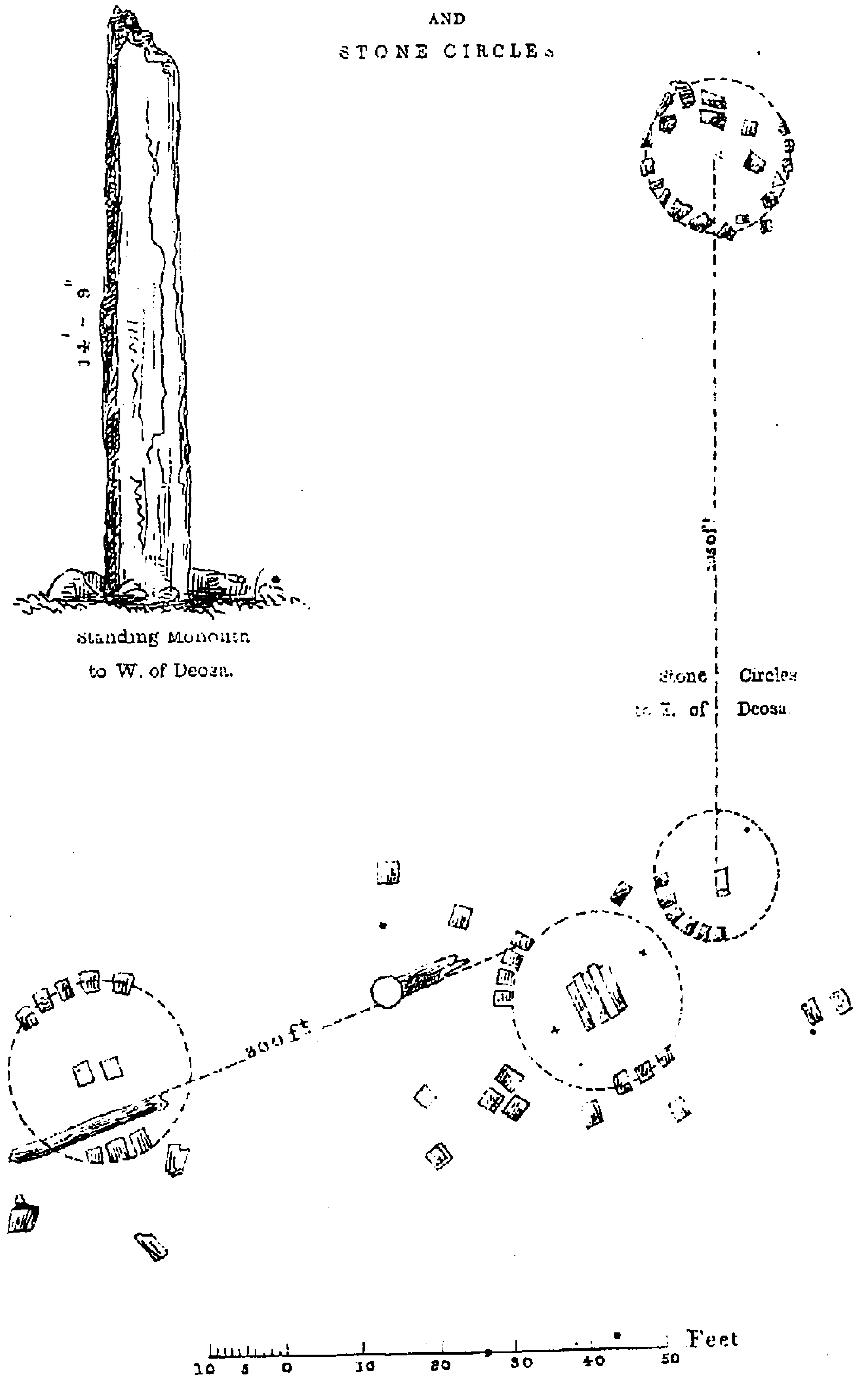
MONOLITHS
AND
STONE CIRCLES

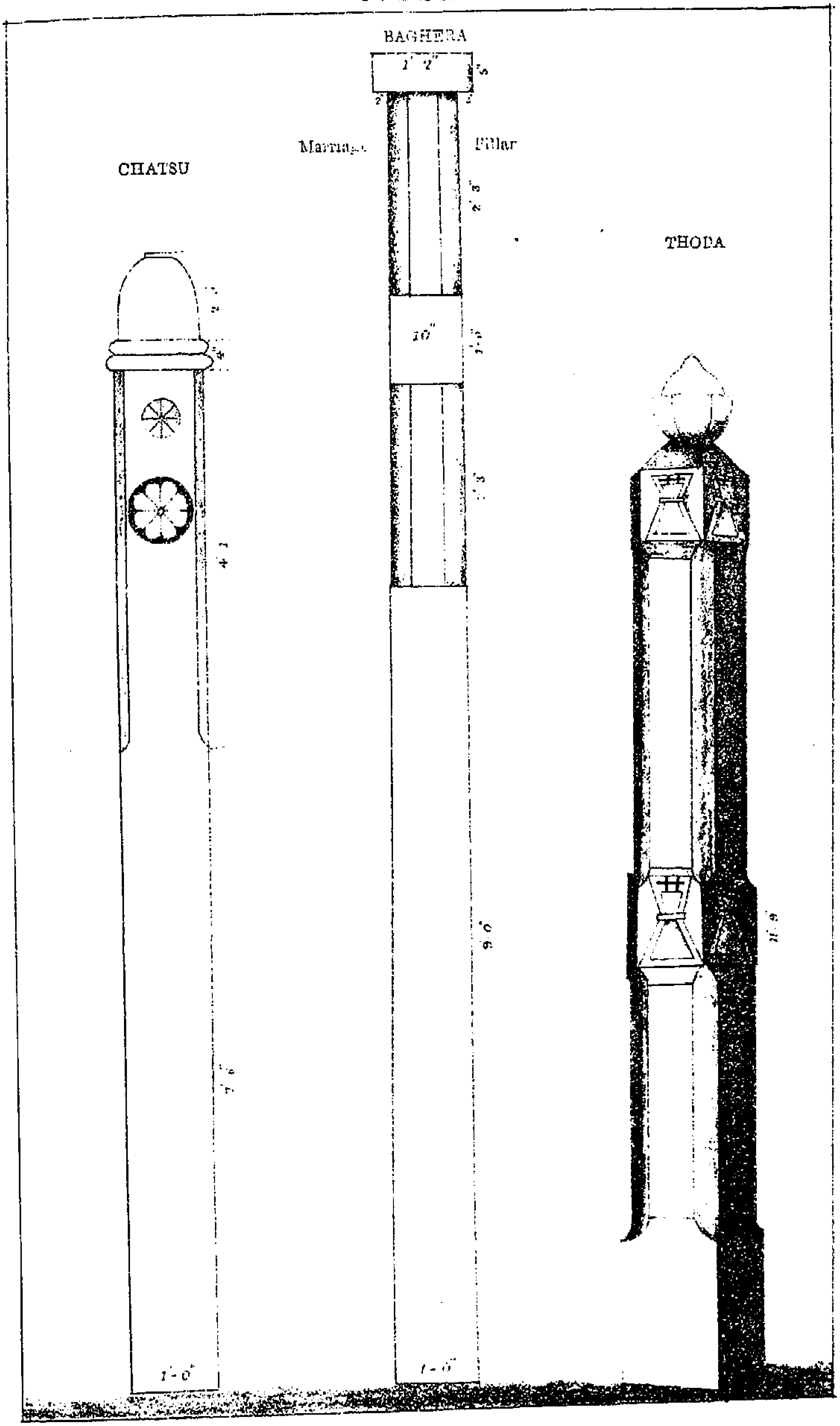


Standing Monolith
to W. of Deosa.

Stone Circles
to E. of Deosa.

A. C. L. Carnegie

Lithographed at the

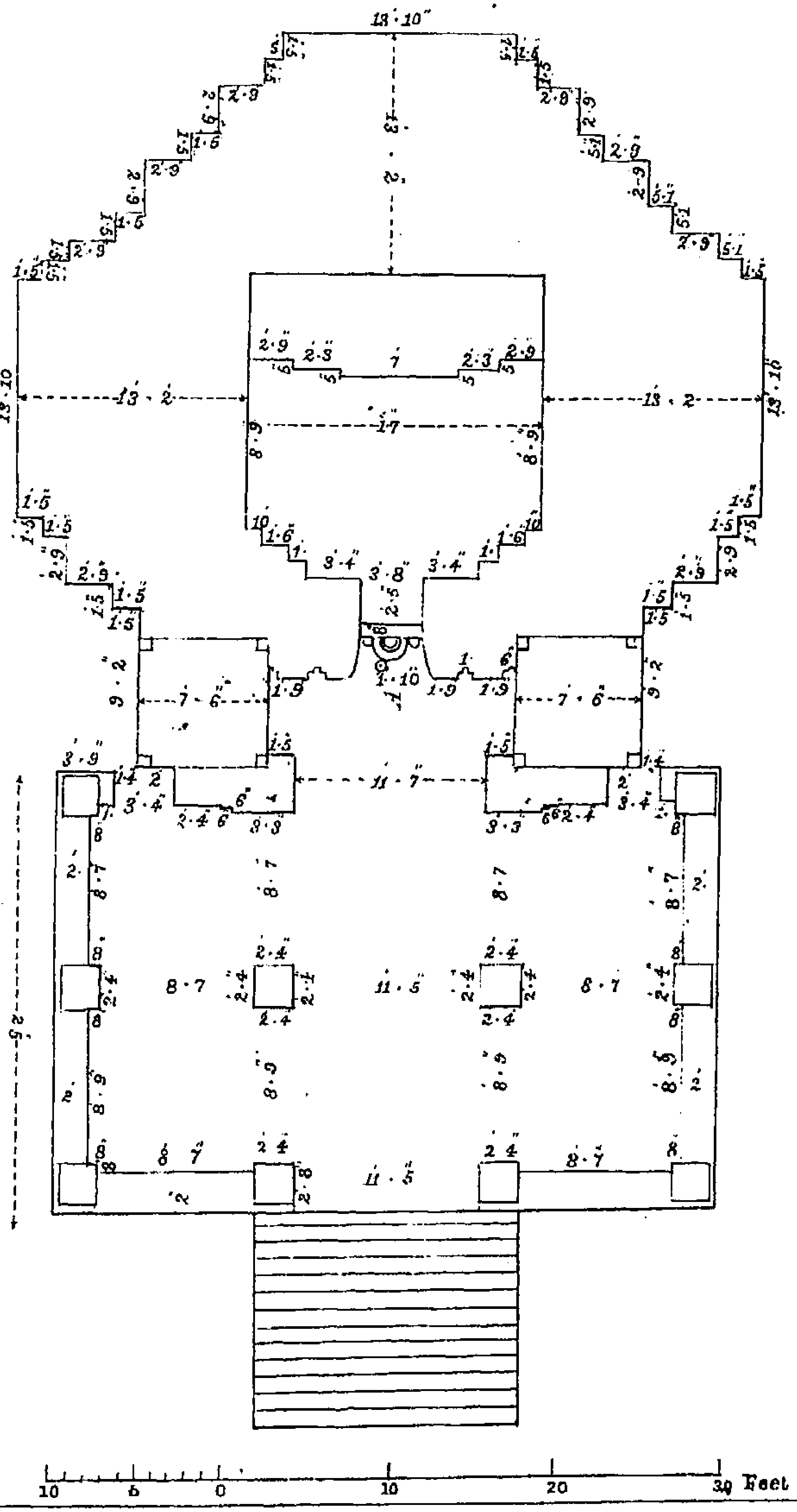


A. C. L. Carlleyle, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta, July 1877

GREAT. TEMPLE.

77½' × 44½'

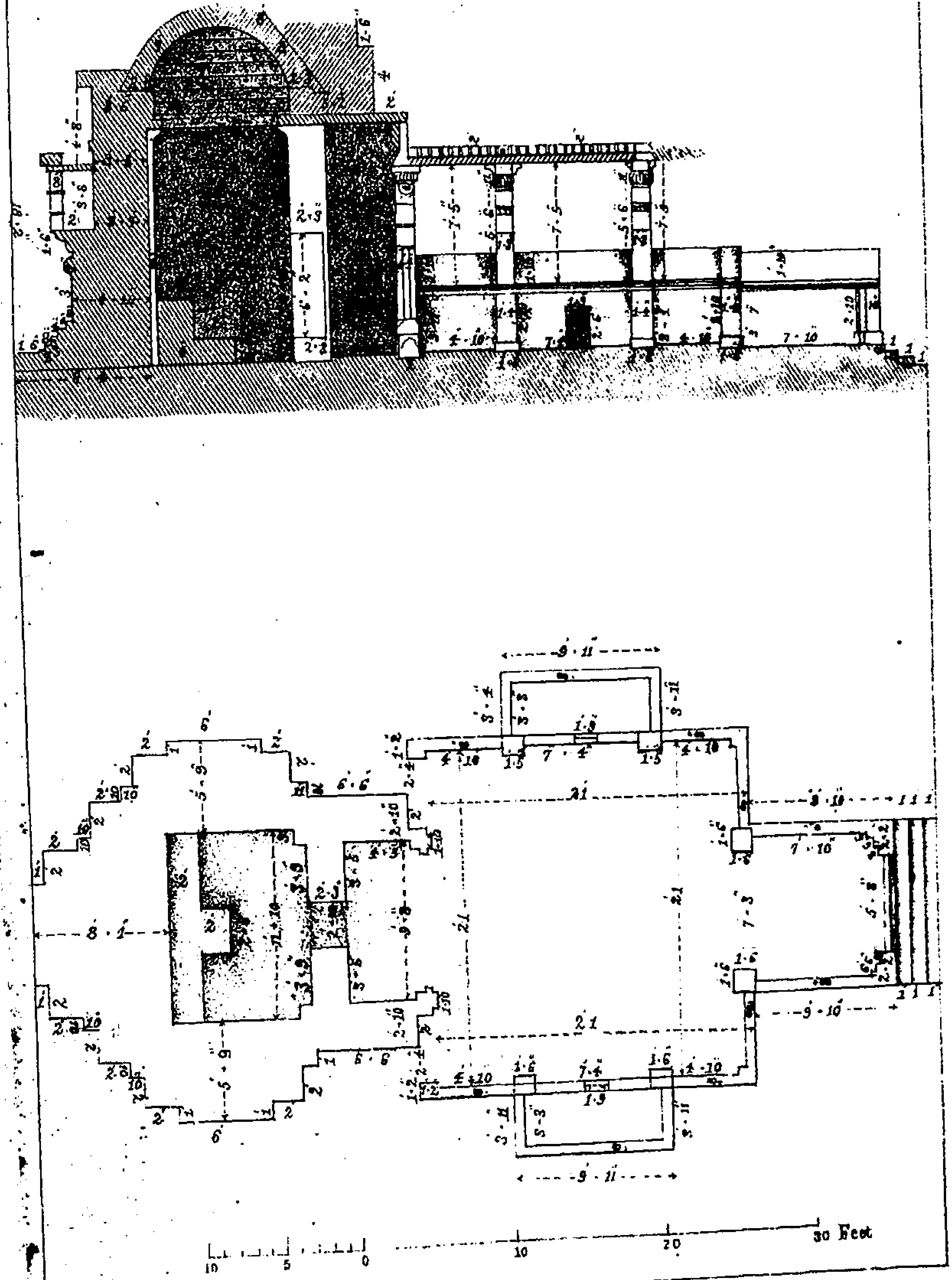


A. C. L. Carlleyle, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, July 1877.

PLAN AND SECTION
OF
LESSER TEMPLE.

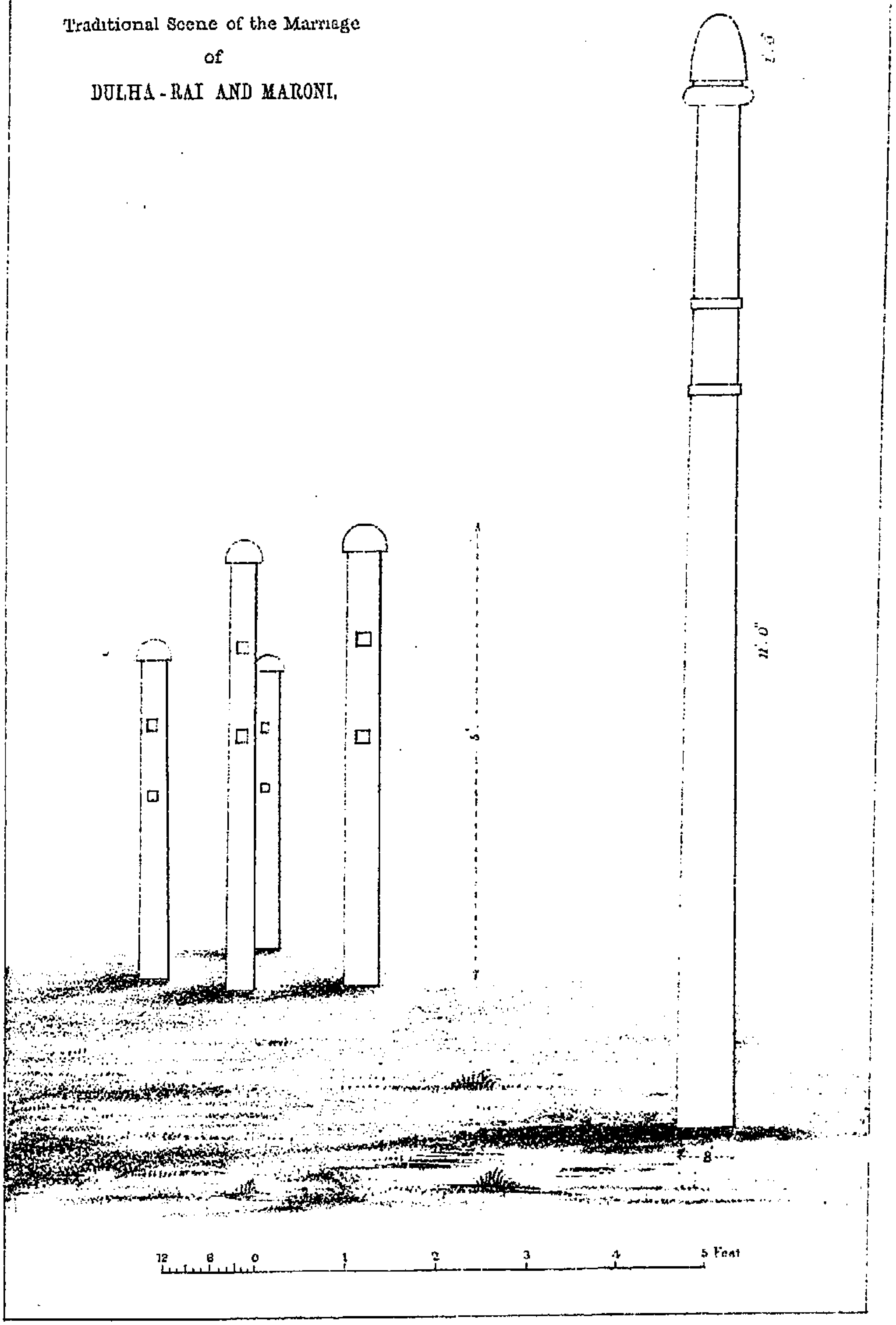
58'-8" x 30'-2"



A. C. L. Carlleyle del.

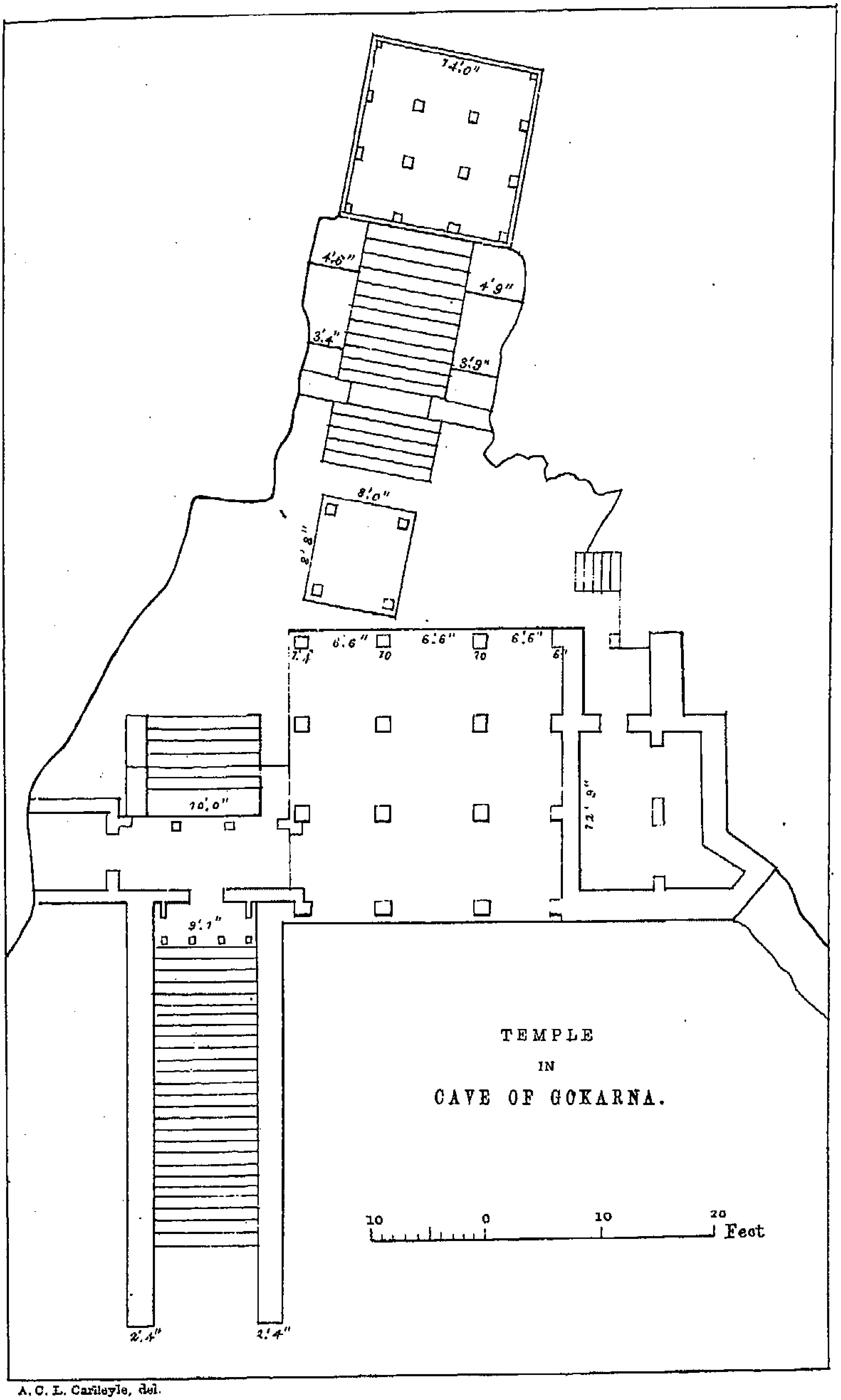
Photographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, July 1877.

ANCIENT PILLARS
the
Traditional Scene of the Marriage
of
DULHA-RAI AND MARONI.



A. C. L. Carlleyle, del.

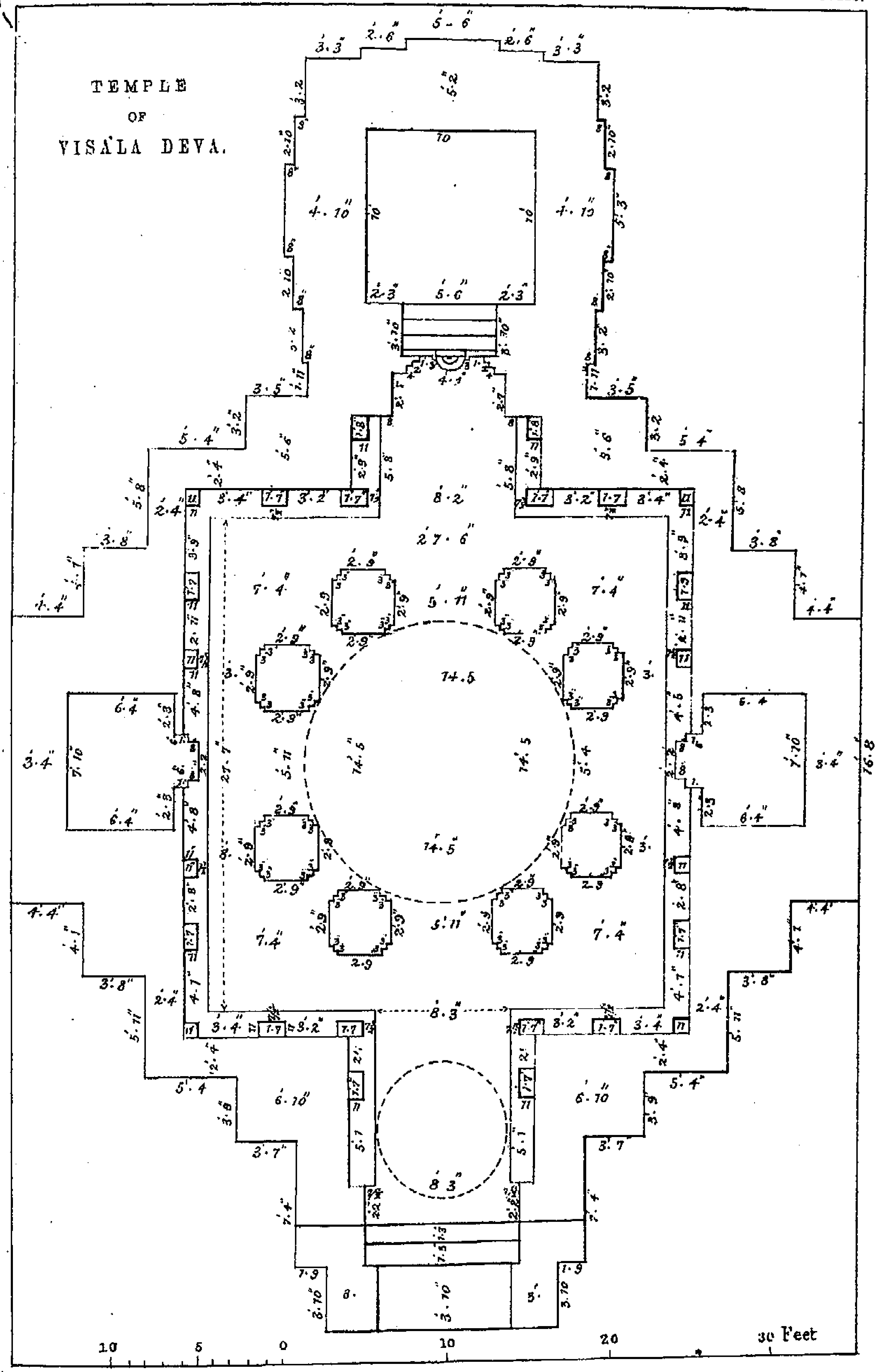
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, July 1877.



TEMPLE
IN
CAVE OF GOKARNA.

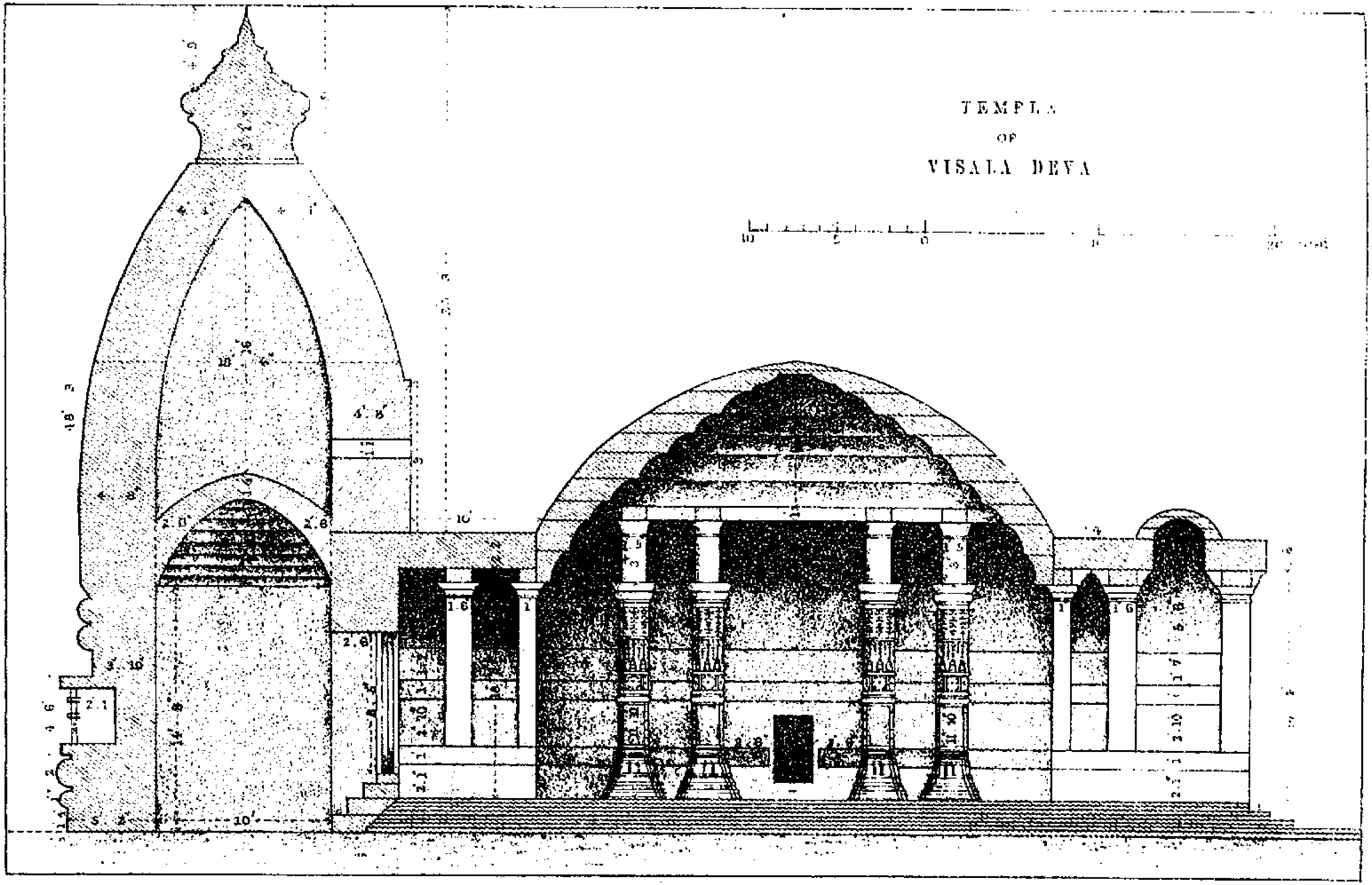
A. C. L. Carlleyle, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, July 1877



A. C. L. Carlleyle, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, July 1877.



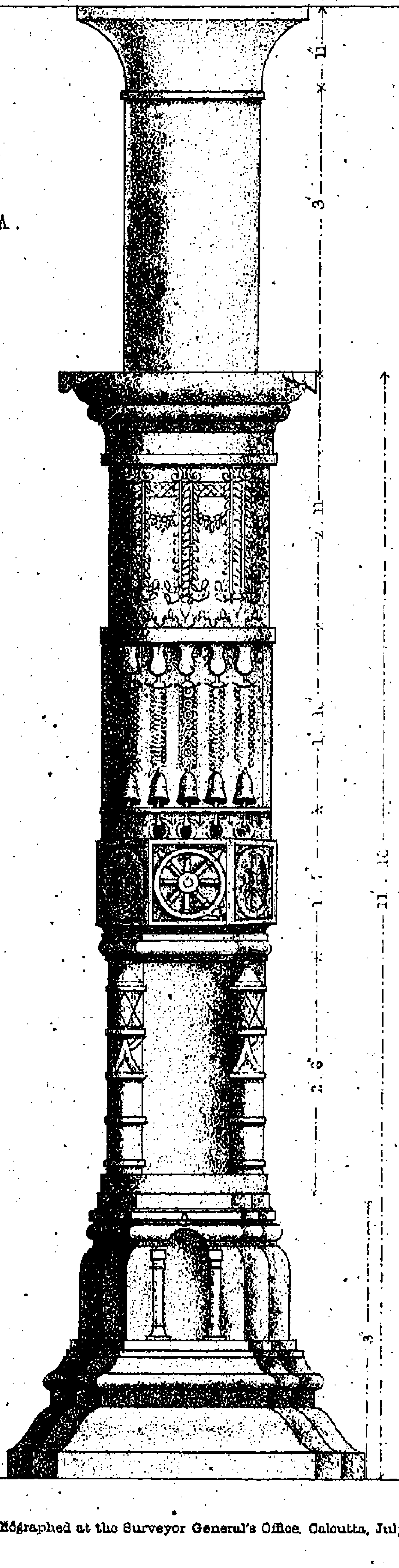
VISALAPURA.

PLATE XIX.

A. C. L. Carlleyle, del.

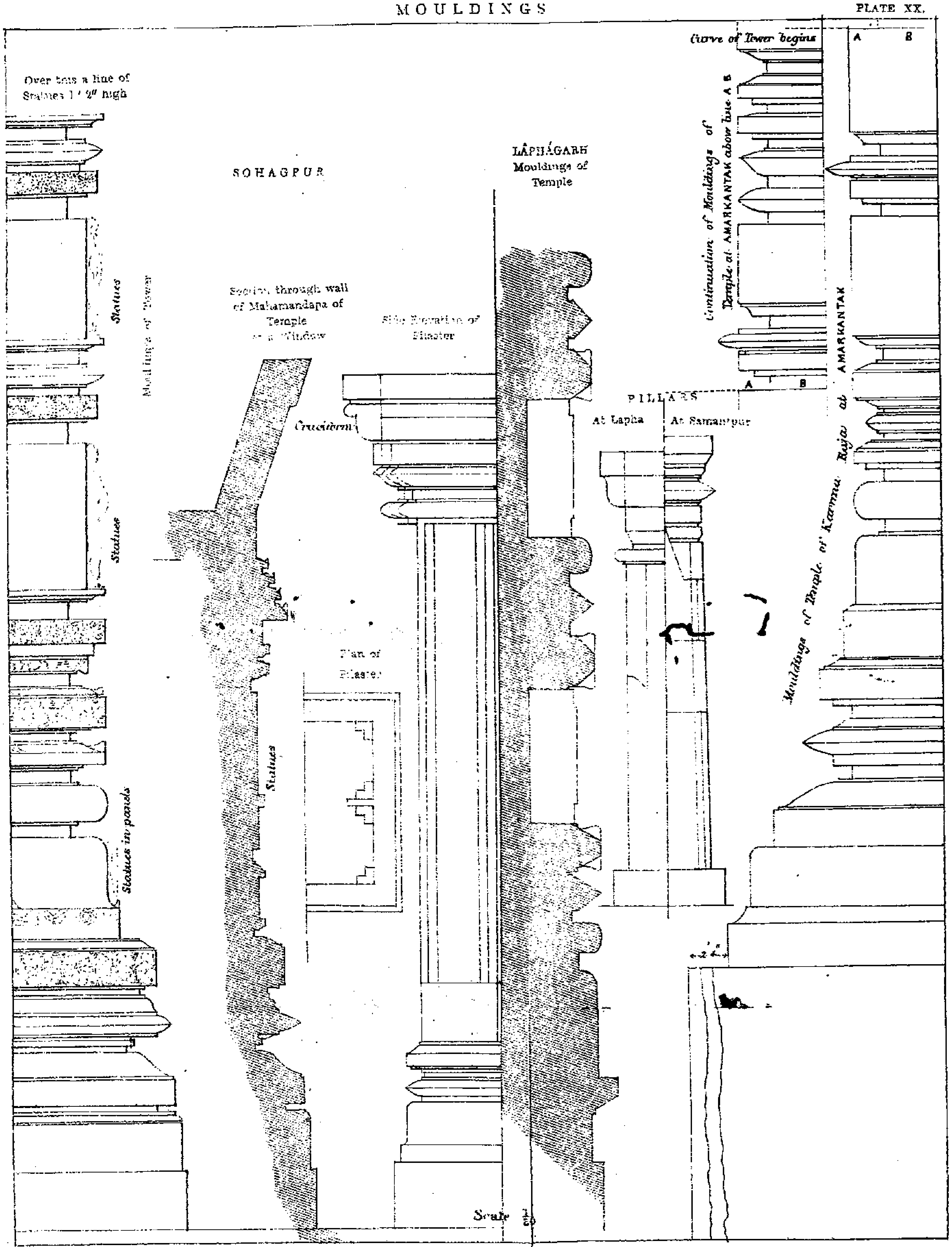
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, August 1877.

PILLAR
IN
TEMPLE
OF
VISALA DEVA.



A. C. L. Carlleyle

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, July 1877.

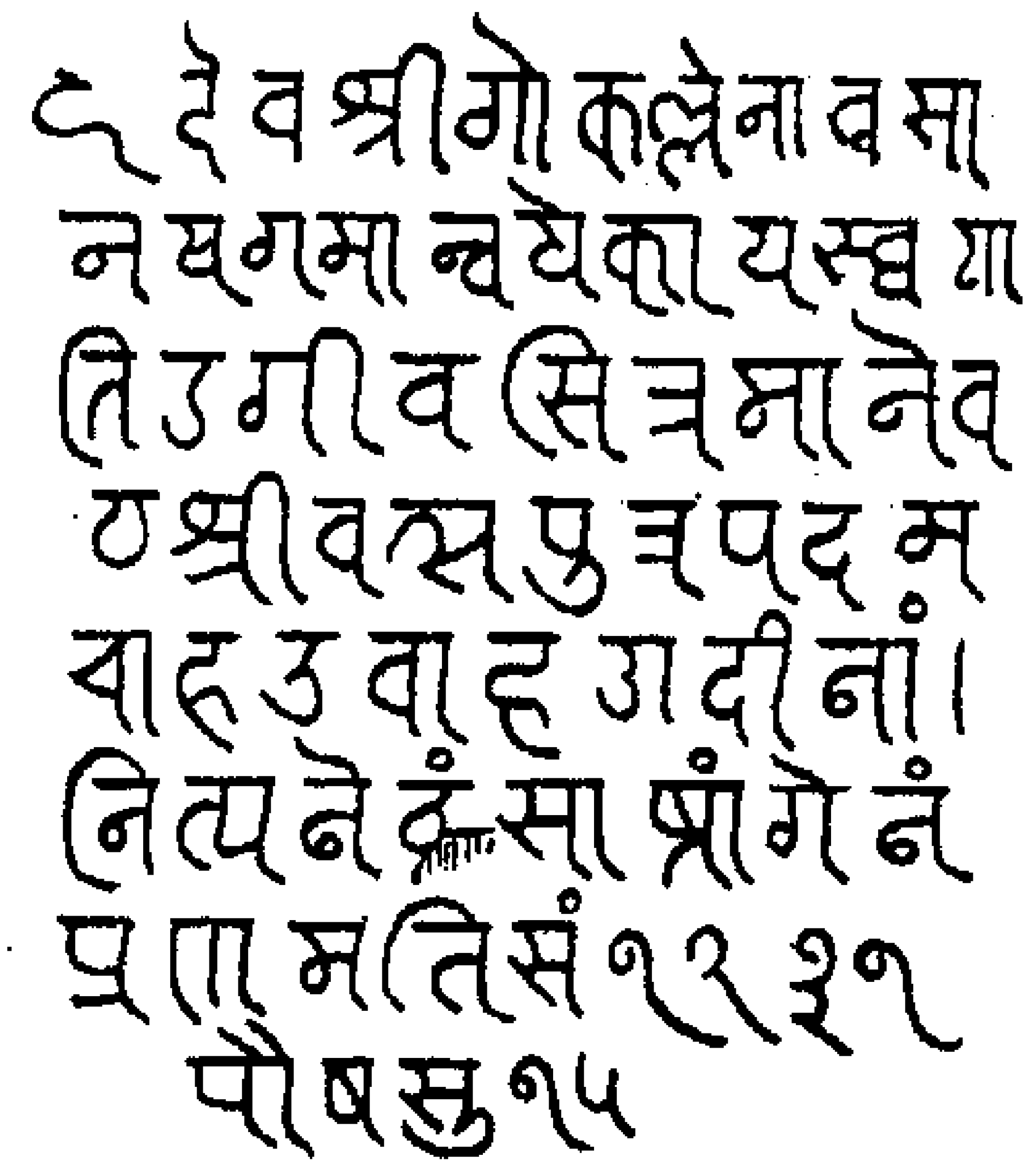


J. D. Beglar del.

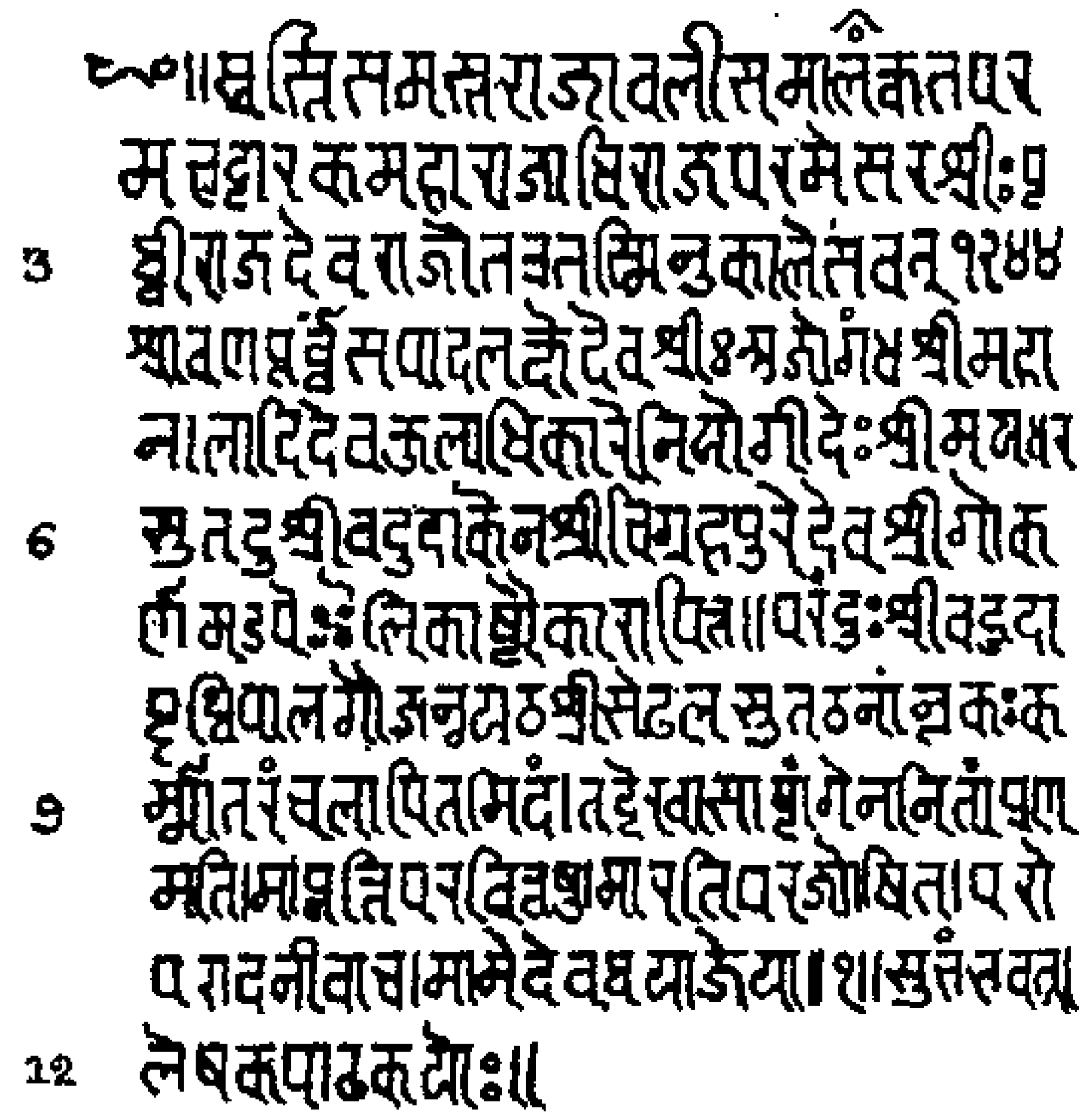
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, February 1878.

TEMPLE OF VISALA DEVA

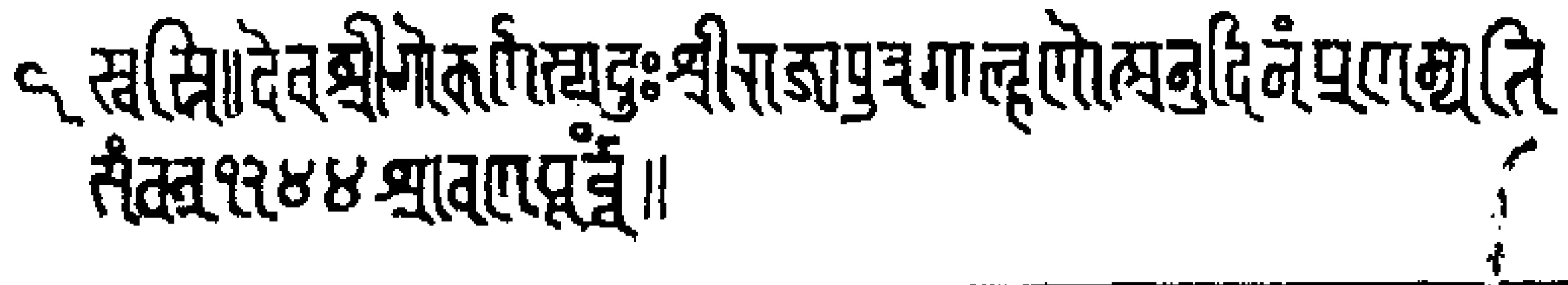
On Portico Pillar.



On Pillar of Temple.

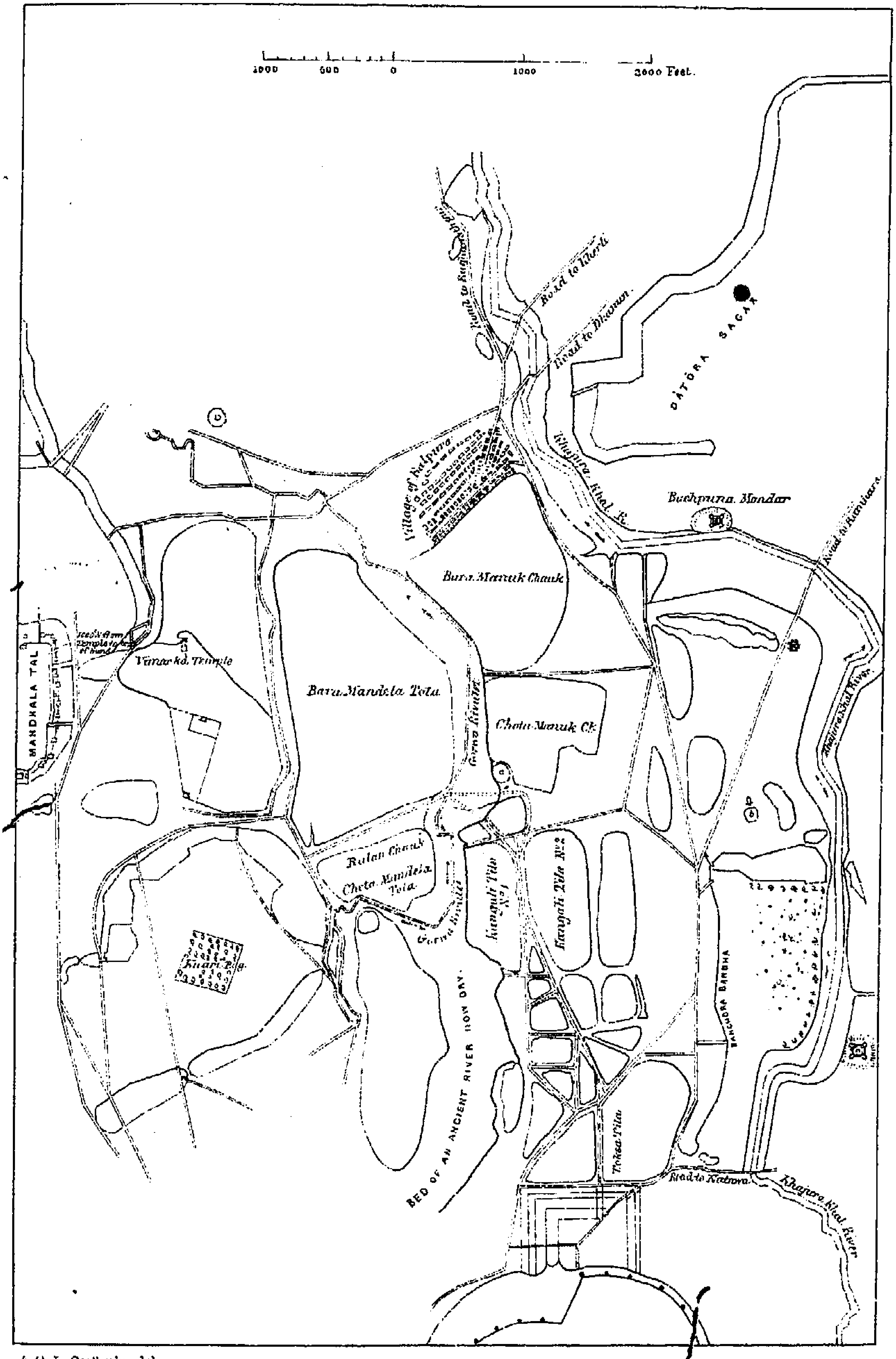


On Wall of Outer Door.



C. L. Carlleyle, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, July 1877.

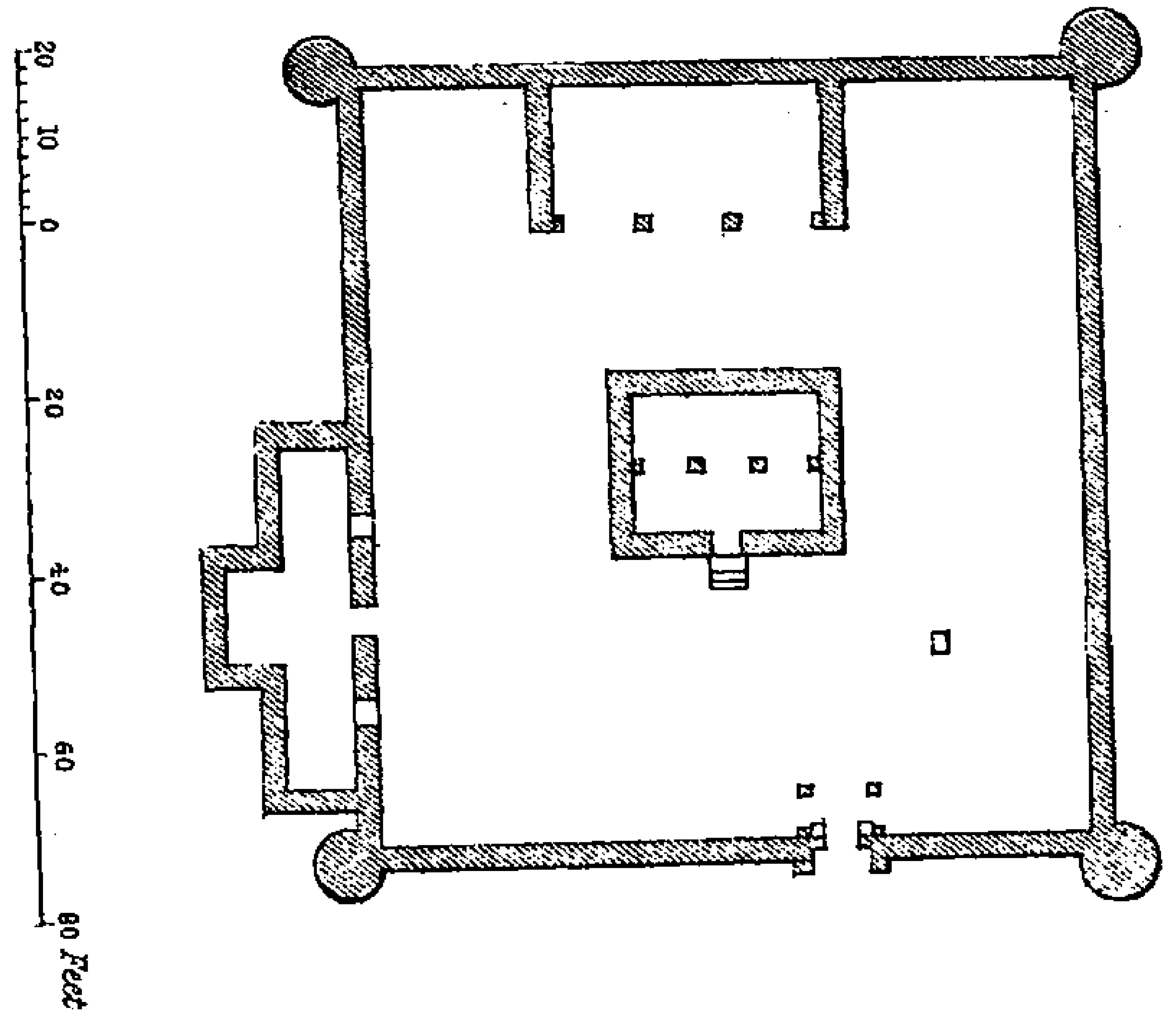


A. C. L. Carlleyle, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, July 1877.

NAGAR, OR KARKOTA NAGARA

PLATE XXIII.



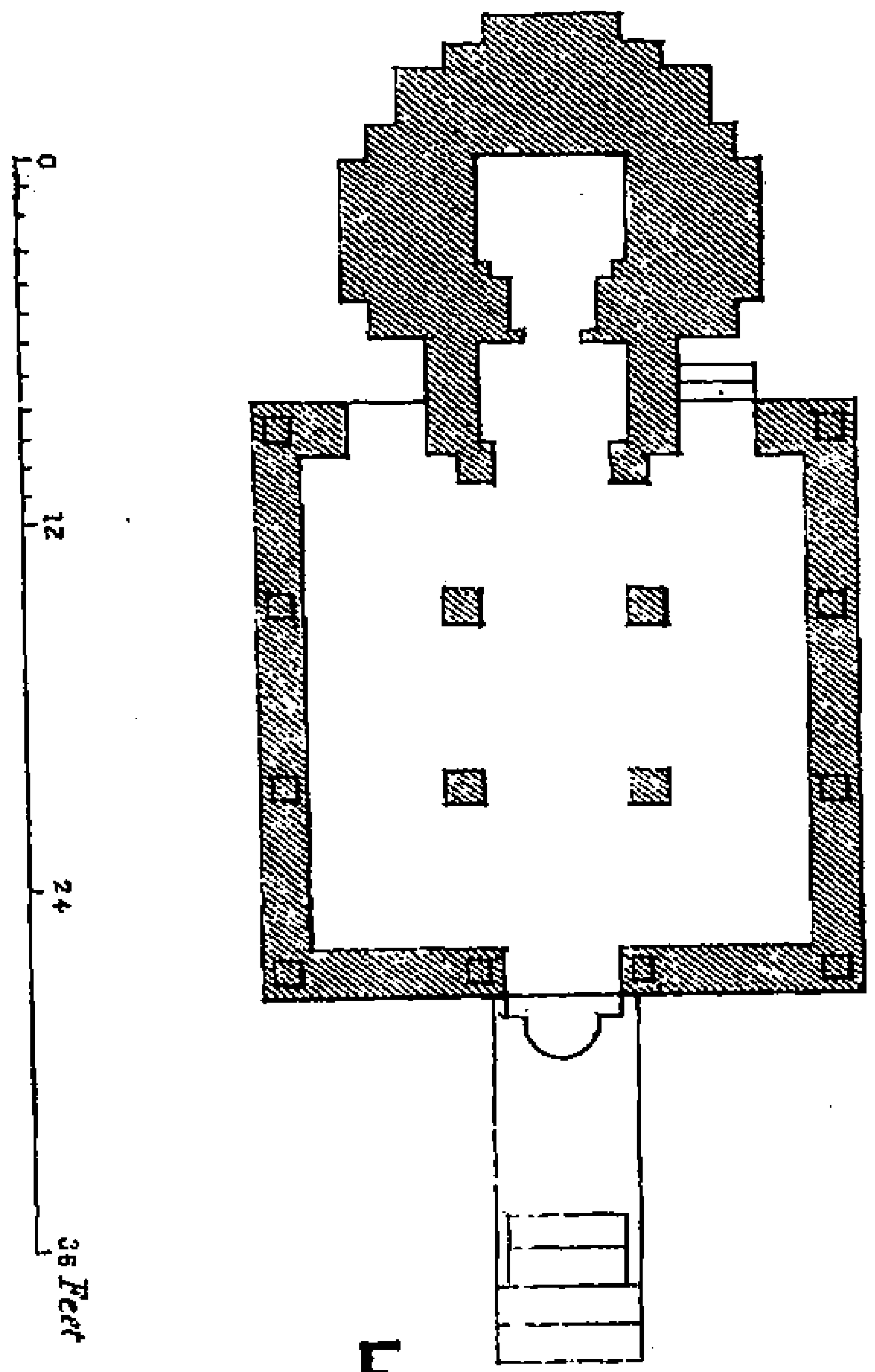
A

MACHHKAND KA MANDAR,

OR

TEMPLE OF MACHHAKANDA.

NAGAR.



E

RUINED TEMPLE,

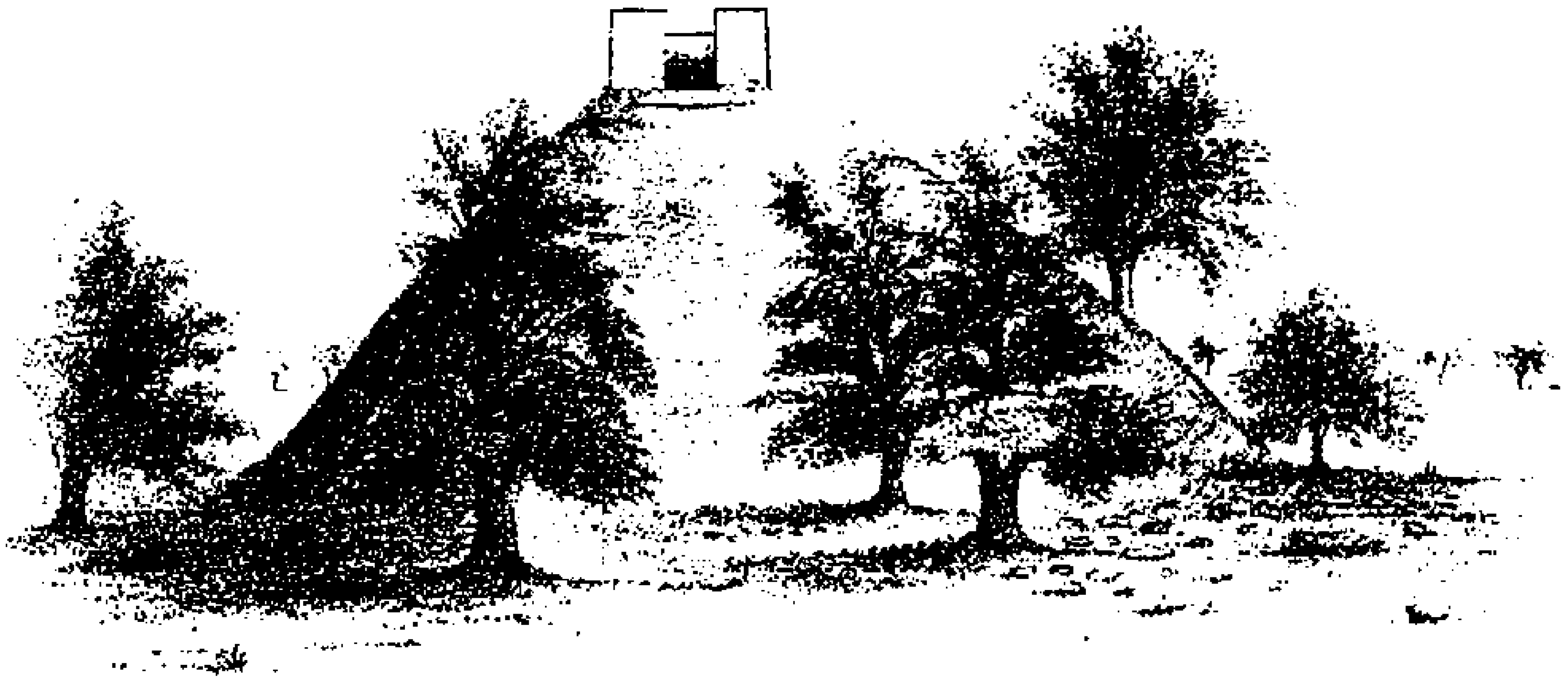
Called

"VIRMAS KA DEORA."

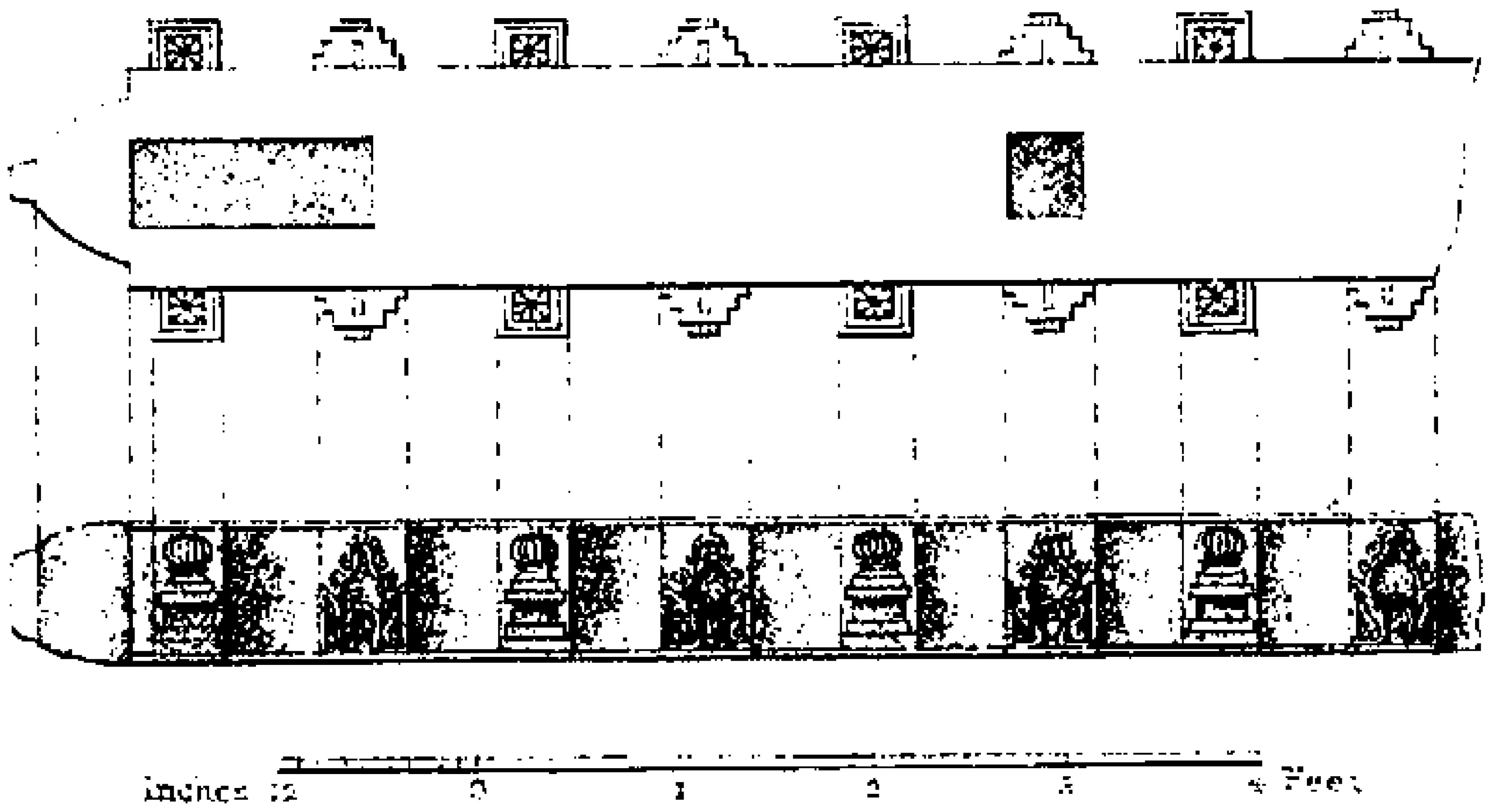
NAGAR.

A. C. L. Carlleyle, del.

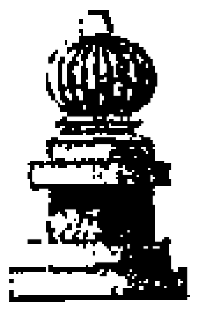
Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, July 1877



Stone lying on top of Mound.



Ornaments on side of Stone



A. C. L. Carlleyle, del.

Lithographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, August 1877

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Report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1871-72 and 1872-73

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